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1. $\gamma \propto \beta^{\alpha}$

2. $\gamma \propto \beta^{\alpha}$



132

OF THE

Government of Churches.

A

DISCOURSE POINTING AT THE PRIMITIVE FORM.

BY

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LONDON:

C. J. STEWART, THEOLOGICAL BOOKSELLER,
11 KING WILLIAM STREET, WEST STRAND.

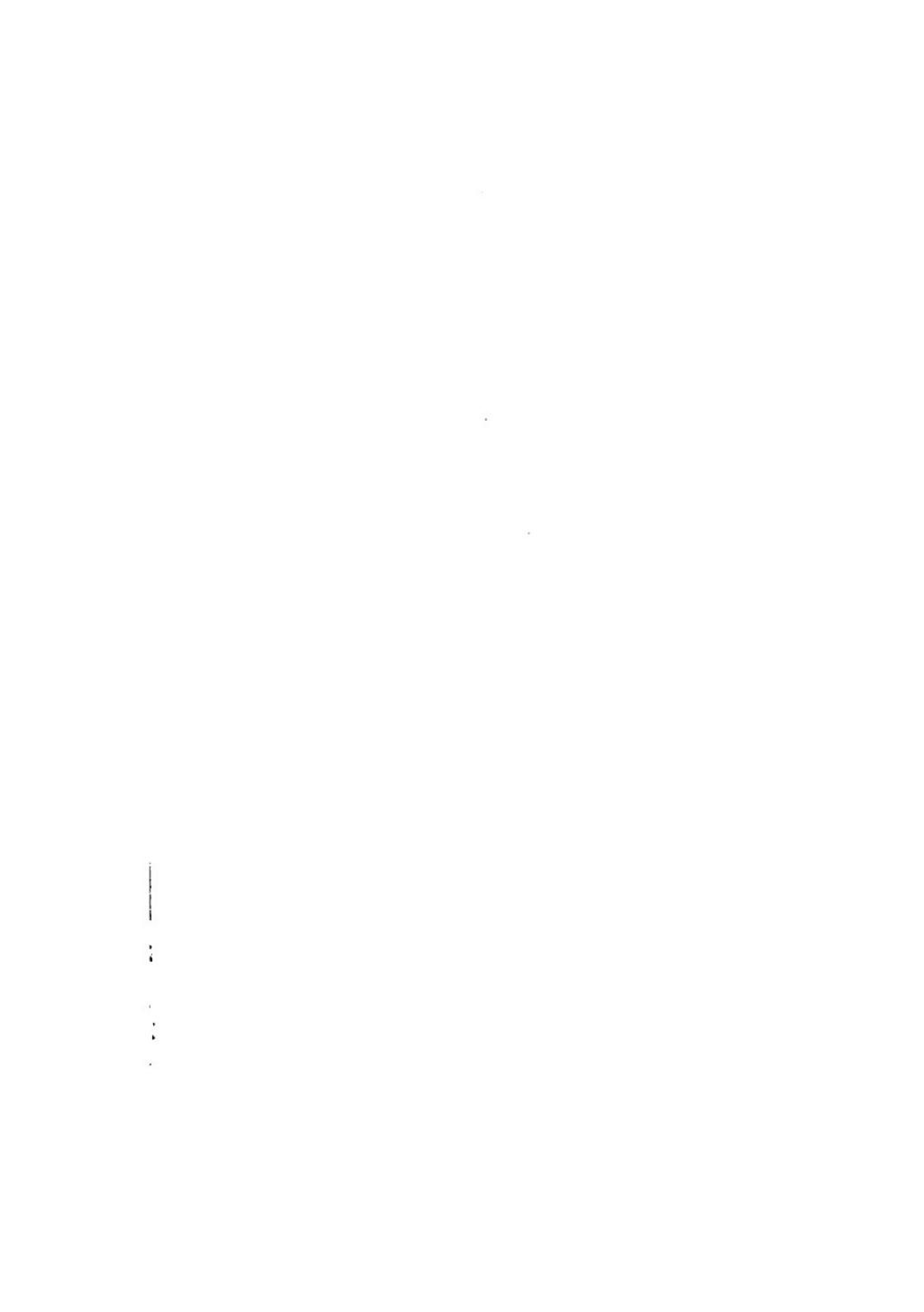
MDCCCXLI.

MARY WATSON
GALLERIES
WILLIAM

LONDON:
PRINTED BY BOBSON, LEVEY, AND FRANKLYN,
46 St. Martin's Lane.

*Of the Government of Churches, A Discourse
Pointing at the Primitive Form. Printed
by Roger Daniel, Printer to the
Universitie of Cambridge.*

1641.



EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE “Discourse pointing at the Primitive Form of the Government of Churches” was written by its learned author two hundred years ago,¹ at a time when that government was openly assailed. Corruptions were alleged as having taken place in the actual administration of the system ; and the system itself was said to be a departure from the original polity of the Church, and an usurpation over the kingdom of Christ.

¹ 1641. The present edition is an exact reprint of the text. Some of the authorities cited have been given at length ; the references, verified throughout, have been given with greater minuteness.

And so it came to pass, that by repeated attacks upon the Church's order, that order was abolished, so far as man could prevail, and the Christian kingdom of England continued for a time visibly an "alien from the commonwealth of Israel."

Those days were indeed days of evil: good men and holy were persecuted; and they who had no regard to truth and justice succeeded in their work. So great was the confusion, and so loud the clamour, that they who would speak reverently could not be heard. The multitude was seduced from the pathways of order, by those who ought to have kept them there, and by others who had no authority to guide them at all. The children grew up rebellious to the Mother that gave them birth, and "went a whoring with their own inven-

tions," which they boldly declared to be the positive institutions of God.

Amid so much of wrong, it behoved those to whom authority was given, according to their measure and their calling, to endeavour to bring back our misguided forefathers—thereby delivering their own souls—to their first estate of truth and reverence and love.

In that goodly company who held fast their integrity while so many—and among them some of whom better things were reasonably expected—went astray, Herbert Thorndike holds not the lowest place. For during the great rebellion, he bore constant witness by his writings to ancient truth, taking occasion, from the iniquity of the times, to speak his mind more freely than perhaps he would otherwise have

done. And herein he missed not the lot of all those, who in the English Church have sighed for the restoration of unity. The sectaries were naturally his enemies, for he spared not their errors; and others, not favourable to these, were displeased at the boldness of his speaking.

The following book is not so much a defence of the order of Bishops, as it is an appeal for the restoration of the original government of Churches,¹—for a return to that estate of things, the loss of which even the puritans affected to lament, and yet destroyed the means by which it might be regained. They complained of the Bishops, “that they had wholly neglected the duty of preaching, under pretence of being more at leisure for the governing

¹ See p. 200.

part of their function; and that even in this they managed to insignificance, and transferred their jurisdiction upon their chancellors and under-officers;—that none of them used to sit in their consistories for hearing complaints, or doing justice either to clergy or laity; but turned over the people to registrars, proctors, and apparitors, who drew their money from them against equity and law, and used them almost at discretion; that few or none of them made their visitations in person;... that few of them living in their episcopal cities, the poor were disappointed of the relief, and the better sort of the hospitality, they had reason to expect; and that by this absence divine service was hurried and ill performed in the cathedrals, for want of the Bishops' presence and inspection;—

that, instead of giving orders at the mother-church, they made use of the chapels of their private houses, or some obscure country-churches, not requiring the assistance of their deans and chapters upon such solemn occasions, as they ought to do;—that they exercised the censures of deprivation and degradation in too monarchical and arbitrary a manner, not calling in the deans and chapters for any share in the administration; and that by this absolute method of governing, they had made those capitular bodies in a manner useless.”—
COLLIER’s *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii.
p. 820.

Such were some of the accusations brought against the administration of the Church’s polity: and grave accusations they are. The historian expresses his be-

lief that they went beyond the truth; and adds, that if the “whole had been matter of fact, the inference was quite wrong; for there is no reason an office should suffer for personal miscarriage—that corporations should be dissolved and apostolical institutions set aside for the faults of particular men. To turn people out of their estates without proving them guilty of any legal forfeiture, and merely because they do not spend them as religion directs, would make wild work. This reasoning, if urged home, I say, would carry to unintelligible justice, and make a strange revolution in the fortune of the laity.” The laity, however, did not care to act consistently herein, but laid their hands upon sacred things, and used them for secular purposes; and, calling the regular clergy by the name of

scandalous ministers, expelled them from their churches, and left them to the charity of others.¹

It cannot be denied that there were grounds of complaint, and that a great departure had taken place from the primitive discipline. It is another question, whether parliament could entertain the charges, and decide upon the matter brought before it. Abuses require to be corrected; but surely it must be done by those who have jurisdiction. How a body of laymen can decide upon questions of spiritual relations is not necessarily obvious to every one, and all would pronounce it to be beyond the province of the clergy in convocation to re-arrange the civil corpora-

¹ Thorndike, Bishops Wren and Bramhall, were aided by the Lord Viscount Scudamore.

tions of the realm. The Church is a body governed by her own laws, having in them something even of inspiration. For either they are the growth of immemorial custom, sanctioned by the wise and good, and whose first beginnings none can trace; or they are the authoritative voice of her governors, assembled in the name of Christ, and watching over His Body committed to their care and keeping. And until men can again look upon the holy Church as a stranger upon earth, endowed with power in unseen things, they cannot hope for rest; nor may they expect success to follow such means as they use, even for righteous ends, when they disregard the authorised order of working. Plans of reformation, having for their object immediate advantage, prove too often in their re-

moter consequences positive evils; while an earnest abiding by the recognised principle of the Church has never missed of success, whatever inconvenience it may have wrought at first. When human systems are confessed to be imperfect, and incapable of being brought to the measure of the changing relations of the world, would it not be safer, as well as wiser, to give an honest trial to that system which Apostles have begun, and apostolical men have developed?

The Church is one; therefore all within her must act together, each member in his several place; none independent of the other; the laity in subjection to the clergy, and the Bishop exercising the charge committed to him through and with the presbytery. It is the Bishop that has the care

of the people ; he it is that is accountable in the first place. The presbytery is his council, by whose assistance he discharges that awful trust—the cure of the souls of men.

As the Bishop has this responsibility laid principally upon him, so has he power and authority to watch over the life and doctrine of those whose services he employs. He is a pastor of pastors ; having jurisdiction not only over the laity, but also over the clergy, whom he ordains to be ministers of God, in obedience unto himself, as unto one entrusted with that authority once given to the Apostles of Christ.

It is difficult for us to realise this truth, because we see that the clergy have become almost a separate body, independent

of the Bishop. They are also popularly considered as two bodies—the cathedral clergy and parochial. The former body acts as if it had no obligations of obedience to the Bishop in many matters; and its members are unnaturally divided; for deans are a distinct corporation from the chapters to which they belong. If the one priesthood has been thus divided in the minds of men, is it any wonder that secular maxims have disturbed the course of ecclesiastical law, and that men, with the passions and self-interest which belong to our corrupt nature, should appeal to the civil laws of a kingdom, when the admonitions of their spiritual ruler are inconvenient to observe? The settlement of clergymen in the several divisions of a see, with perpetual maintenance derived from their immediate

neighbourhood, gave opportunities for occasional forgetfulness that they were representatives of the Bishop in the mother-church, and fostered also a spirit of independence, which has led them to raise themselves, practically at least, to be as Bishops over those places which they were entrusted to govern, but not in chief.

The cathedral is the mother-church. There the Bishop has his throne ; there the Sacraments are by him administered to the whole body of the faithful within his charge, assisted by the presbyters and deacons. The administration of the Sacraments in other places than the cathedral-church is a practice that came in by degrees ; and chapels of ease to parish-churches are, in many places, unto this day, witnesses of the older custom.

The separation of the clergy from the mother-church, and the partial hiding of their immediate dependence upon the Bishop, have no doubt been attended with evil results. They have familiarised the minds of men with the absence of episcopal control, and paved the way, in some degree, for the full development of the Roman theory, as well as the more modern corruption of Geneva. Surely these evils would not have arisen, if the people saw with their eyes the continuance of the ancient system—the Bishop on his throne in the cathedral-church, with the presbytery sitting around him, and the deacons standing by;¹ therein shadowing forth, even upon earth, the perfect estate of the Church triumphant, which St. John saw in

¹ Apostolical Constitutions, book ii. chap. 57.

the vision.¹ And what has been gained by making the clergy independent of the Bishop? The laity has become independent of them. The conversion of benefices into freeholds is, in some measure, a desecration of ecclesiastical goods; and who has not mourned over the consequence of this? It has given occasion to the civil rulers to meddle with the things of God, and to take upon themselves what the apostles exercised originally—the distribution of the alms of the Church. Not contented with this, they have gone further: they have alienated that property which was given for the maintenance of divine service, and for the support of the poor, the orphan, and the widow. The cause of Episcopacy and of consecrated

¹ Rev. iv. 4.

goods cannot be, in reality, but one; and wherever either has been unlawfully interfered with, there the other has also suffered. “For the visible unity of the catholic Church, as it never subsisted but in the *consent of Bishops*, so was it never maintained but out of *consecrate goods*.¹ Temporal considerations ought not to weigh with us when the ecclesiastical estate is periled. Earthly respectability, nay, civil dignities, are poor compensations for the abeyance of the Church’s authority. Honour and reputation in the eyes of the world belong to the clergy; but surely something more than this is needed. Is it any accession of honour to the successors of the Apostles to be lords of parlia-

¹ Thorndike “Of the Forbearance or Penalties which a due Reformation requires,” p. 25.

ment? or to the presbyters, to be considered as country gentlemen? "What have we to do with princes' courts?" said an English Bishop once.¹ "If we are in love with majesty, is there a greater Excellence than Whom we serve? If we are in love with stately buildings, are there higher roofs than our cathedrals? If with apparel, is there a greater ornament than that of priesthood? or is there better company than a communion with the saints? Truly, most reverend Fathers, what this vanity in temporal things may work in you I know not; but sure I am, that in myself I find it to be a great impediment to devotion; wherefore I think it necessary, and high time it is, that we that are

¹ Bailey's "Life and Death of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester," chap. iv. p. 27.

the heads should begin to give example to the inferior clergy as to these particulars, whereby we may all be the better conformable to the image of God; for in this trade of life which we now lead, neither can there be likelihood of perpetuity in the same state and condition wherein we now stand, or safety to the clergy."

D. L.

Easter 1841.

To the Lovers of Peace and Truth.

THAT style must serve me for a preface to this short discourse. The love of peace and truth, my hope is, hath made some impression in the reasons whereupon it proceedeth: and it were a wrong to the world to think that those marks can be offensive. My purpose was to contribute towards the true meaning of the Scripture in these matters: if I have failed of it, the attempt will deserve your excuse. But my heart telleth me not that I have set any text on the rack to make it confess more than it means. Ecclesiastical writers I have for the most part stripped of the authority which their years and merits in the Church have won, and produced them as witnesses at the bar of common sense, to make evidence from

xxiv THE AUTHOR TO THE READER.

the historical truth of their sayings. The meaning of them is for the most part either translated by their words, or expressed in the current of my discourse. Sometimes it is left to every man's apprehension to value; for when all is done, men must and will be judges for themselves.

H. T.

TO THE MOST GRACIOUS
JAMES,
DUKE OF LENNOX, EARL OF MARCH, &c.

LORD WARDEN OF THE CINQUE PORTS, KNIGHT OF
THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER, AND
ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY
COUNCIL, HIS VERY GOOD LORD.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE :

THE advantage this slight worthless
piece aimeth at in this address is of great con-
sequence, but of a civil and moderate nature ;
it is no marvel if it desire to go forth under
so great a name, that is not like to appear
considerable to the world otherwise. But the
countenance it demandeth is according as the
cause may deserve : more it must not expect
from your justice ; less it cannot expect from
your goodness. If it fail of the truth, it is a

xxvi THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY.

child rebellious to the father's intentions ; and according to the law of Moses, here he bring-
eth him forth to receive his doom. If it have
any thing considerable, in a cause wherein the
world is so well informed long since, my suit
is, that from your Grace's hands it may be de-
rived to the public. The Lord of heaven and
earth bless your Grace with happiness of this
life, and of that which is to come. So prays

Your Grace's most humble Chaplain,

HERBERT THORNDIKE.

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CHAPTER I.

THE APOSTLES EYE-WITNESSES OF OUR LORD,
AND EAR-WITNESSES OF HIS DOCTRINE.
ST. PAUL AN APOSTLE. MANY PERSONAL
QUALITIES IN THEM. THEY WERE GOVER-
NORS OF CHURCHES.

He that desireth to espy light at a narrow hole, must lay his eye near, if he mean to discover at large. So must he be curious in considering the Scriptures, that meaneth to discern those things that are not declared there at large, but are collected by circumstance, or consequence ; especially in matters which we view at this distance of time, which representeth to us things done then through a mist of succeeding custom. Those that seek for mines have their *virgula divina*, a rod, which they hold even-balanced over the place where they hope for a vein, which if it hit right, the rod of itself bendeth

towards the earth. Our Lord in the Gospel commandeth us to search the Scriptures, as men would seek for mines or treasure: let us keep an even balance of judgment, not bowing but as the vein of truth swayeth it; for if we put the grains of affection and prejudice into the gold-scales which we weigh nice truths with, no marvel if the lighter go down. Now because the question concerneth the Apostles' time and the next to it, and the purpose is, to represent the form pointed at in Scripture, by comparing it with such passages of historical truth and primitive practice as shall seem best to express it, let us, in the first place, consider the nature of their charge, that it may appear how far the Church retaineth a succession of it. For true it is, divers personal qualities are requisite in an Apostle, because they were to preach the Gospel to all nations. They must be men to witness those things they had seen our Lord do, those words they had heard Him speak,

upon their own knowledge ; and therefore men that had conversed with Him from the beginning of His doctrine. It is that St. Peter required at the choice of Matthias (Acts i. 21), “Of these men, that have companied with us all the while that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us, must one be ordained for a witness of His resurrection with us.” It is that the same Apostle challengeth (1 Pet. v. 1), “The elders which are among you I exhort, who am also an elder, and a witness of the sufferings of Christ.” He descendeth to the rank of presbyters, when he saith, “who am also an elder ;” but he voucheth the privilege of an Apostle, when he addeth, “and a witness of the sufferings of Christ.” And his fellow-Apostle of the Gentiles to the same purpose (1 Cor. ix. 1), “Am I not an Apostle ? am I not free ? have I not seen Jesus Christ our Lord ?” As if to be an Apostle required one that had seen the Lord, which was supplied to him by his raptures and vi-

sions ; as the hearing His doctrine was supplied unto him by that revelation by which he avoucheth to have received His Gospel, in the beginning of his Epistle to the Galatians. This is that God had provided for satisfaction of common sense,—men that could witness, upon the credit of their eyes and ears, what they published. But it required greater matters to convince the world of those things which reason could not evidence : the gifts of the Holy Ghost, for knowledge, for language, for miracles, for all the like were requisite in a marvellous nature for those that undertook to preach the Gospel to all nations. This was the Apostles' charge ; and the power this charge importeth, the endowments it requireth, are personal, wherein no man pretendeth to succeed the Apostles. But the execution of this charge, reason telleth us, must needs proceed, and experience of that which is written telleth us it did proceed, according to the exigence of their several opportunities, con-

certed by consent among themselves ; for so we find the chief Apostles (Gal. ii. 9) dividing their care between the Jews and the Gentiles. If it appear, then, that the Apostles, for their time, took upon them the oversight of Churches of their own planting ; if it appear, that an Apostle fixed his abode, and care both, upon some Church in several, though all the world were their diocese in common ; well may we proceed, upon these terms, to make the Apostles Bishops of such and such Churches, and Bishops successors of the Apostles ; though neither for the extent of their charge, nor for their abilities to perform it, yet because they are trusted with that oversight of one Church, which the Apostles for their time afforded to all within their quarters.

CHAPTER II.

THE CHURCH OF JERUSALEM UNDER THE
CHARGE OF JAMES AND HIS PRESBYTERS.
THIS WAS JAMES SON OF ALPHEUS. HOW
HE WAS BROTHER OF OUR LORD. CLEO-
PHAS AND ALPHEUS BOTH ONE.

THIS is that we must stand upon in the first place, to aver the first pattern of the form, after which it shall appear that Churches were governed from the beginning by Bishops and their presbyters. It is to be seen in the first Church—the Church of Jerusalem, mother of all churches,—which we shall find under the charge of James of Jerusalem, one of the Apostles, and his presbyters; no doubt by consent and appointment of the Apostles, providing for the Church there before their departure from it. Wherein we shall not need to set up our rest upon the credit of Ignatius, or Clemens Alexandrinus—

though either of them of age sufficient to witness as great a matter as this—having so many pregnant passages of Scripture to aver it. The Apostle, relating his going up to Jerusalem to see Peter (Gal. i. 18), prosecuteth it thus in the next words, “But other of the Apostles saw I none, but James, the brother of the Lord.” How cometh he to meet James at Jerusalem, when he went to see Peter there, more than the rest of the Apostles, but because he abode there at his charge? And again (Gal. ii. 9), “And when James, Peter, and John, who seemed to be pillars, saw the grace of God that was given to me,” &c., we shall not need to think James is put in the first place for nothing, when we have so fit a reason to give for it, because they were then all at the place of his charge. For so you shall find it again in that most considerable action of the council at Jerusalem (Acts xv. 7, 13). The decree of the council, as it is resolved upon St. Peter’s reasons, so is it framed

and drawn up in St. James' terms (ver. 7, 13); the one, as first of the Apostles, the other, as having the charge of the Church there: which still further appear-eth by that which is read (Gal. ii. 12), that “before some came from St. James, St. Peter ate with the Gentiles; but when they came, he withdrew, and separated himself, fearing those of the circumcision.” We see St. Peter taketh advice of St. James; as likewise afterwards St. Paul, at his last coming to Jerusalem (Acts xxi. 20), went in to James, where all the elders were present, to advise with him that had the care of that Church about the great business in hand, how to behave himself towards those of the circumcision that believed. Now of the college of presbyters at Jerusalem, and of their concurrence and assistance with this James in the go-vernment of the Church there, we have three unreprouable arguments in the Acts of the Apostles. The first, in disposing the maintenance of the poor; whereof we

read (Acts xi. 30), that the benevolence of the Church of Antiochia was sent to the elders at Jerusalem by the hands of Saul and Barnabas, to be disposed of by them, but ministered and laid out by the deacons, as shall be shewn afterwards. The second is found in the passage of the council at Jerusalem, wherein their concurrence appeareth in that which is resolved (Acts xv. 2), that “Paul and Barnabas should go up to Jerusalem to the Apostles and elders, about that question.” And (verse 4) “being come to Jerusalem, they are received of the Apostles and elders.” Again (ver. 6), “the Apostles and elders came together to consider of this matter.” And (ver. 22) “it pleased the Apostles and elders, with the whole Church, to send chosen men of their own company to Antioch, with Paul and Barnabas.” And the letter in the next verse runneth in the name of the Apostles and elders. All to argue the concurrence and assistance of the presbyters with the Apostles, which were

then present there, besides James, which had the particular charge. The third is, that which hath been remembered at St. Paul's last going to Jerusalem, where we find the elders assembled with James, as his assistants, in advising with St. Paul about the matter on foot; for it is plain, that the advice whereupon he proceedeth in a matter of that weight, is given him by James and the presbyters both, as we read there,¹ verse 20. "And they said unto him," that is, James and the elders. This James of Jerusalem I make no scruple to reckon among the Apostles, because St. Paul hath done it afore me.² For it is plain that he speaketh of no other but the twelve, so called by our Lord from the beginning (Luke vi. 13). Because of them the question might have been made, whether he had received his doctrine from them or not, which he there denieth. And therefore it is plain, this James can be no other than James son of Alpheus, reck-

[¹ Acts xxi.][² Gal. i. 19.]

oned in the Gospels among the twelve — James the son of Zebedee, brother of John, being put to death by Herod before (Acts xii. 2). On the other side, when St. Paul calleth him “brother of our Lord,” without doubt he meaneth no other but him that is called in the Gospels “James the less,” brother of Joses and son of Mary (Matt. xxvii. 56, Mark xv. 40); the same Mary, no doubt, that is called (John xix. 25) “Mary of Cleophas,” sister to the blessed Virgin. First, because these Gospels speak of the same women that stood by our Saviour’s cross; and again, because the brethren of our Lord are reckoned (Mark vi. 3), James, and Joses, and Judas, and Simon. So that all the difference that hath been about the several Jameses and Maries remembered in the Gospel, is extinguished by making Alpheus and Cleophas both one in the language then in use, though divers ways written in the Greek. A thing nothing

strained: for though Cleophas be otherwise written in the Syriac, because it is translated out of the Greek, yet the Syriac name *Chalpai* may be expressed either by *Alpheus* or *Cleophas*, which is also written *Clopas* in some copies (John xix. 25), and in Hegesippus, quoted by Eusebius (*Eccles. Hist.* iii. 11). This I perceive, since the writing hereof, to be the opinion of Lud. Capellus, who hath alleged St. Hierome against Helvidius,¹ to strengthen it, where he maketh Mary of Cleophas, sister of the blessed Virgin, the wife of Alpheus, and mother of James the less. Wherewith agreeth Clemens Alexandrinus in Eusebius (*Eccles. Hist.* ii. 1), where he acknowledgeth but two Jameses,—the son of Zebedee, and this James of Jerusalem

[¹ “Restat conclusio, ut Maria ista, quæ Jacobi minoris scribitur mater, fuerit uxor Alphæi, et soror Mariæ matris Domini, quam Mariam Cleophæ Johannes Evangelista cognominat.”—Tom. iv. p. 138. ed. Bened.]

mentioned by the Apostle. And herewith agreeth St. Chrysostom,¹ upon that text of the Apostle, where he observeth, that for St. James' honour, St. Paul calleth him "brother of our Lord," whereas he might as well have called him "son of Cleophas," as the evangelist had done. Here it is plain, that James the brother of our Lord, and son of Cleophas, is the Apostle, son of Alpheus, according to St. Chrysostom. As for that which followeth, that nevertheless he was not of kin to our Lord according to the flesh, but according to the opinion of the world, it seemeth to depend upon Hegesippus in Eusebius (iii. 11), where he maketh Cleophas brother to Joseph, supposed father of our Lord; which is possible to be true, that Joseph and Cleophas brothers should take to wife the two Maries, sisters or cousins. But otherwise there is so much appearance in the Gospel, that Mary mother of James and Joses is Mary of Cle-

[¹ In Gal. i. 19. tom. iii. p. 724. ed. Savil.]

ophas, sister to the blessed Virgin, that it must needs be an inconvenience to deny this James to be kin to our Lord by her side. As for other relations and conjectures of church-writers, the variety whereof is endless and unreconcilable, it is not reason to draw them into consequence to the prejudice of a conjecture which maketh so clear an agreement of this whole difference. It was my desire to shew the true meaning of the Apostle's words ; but it is not my purpose to build upon uncertainties. Whosoever this James of Jerusalem was, we find the Church of Jerusalem under his charge, almost as soon as there was a Church there ; at least if we believe Ignatius (*Epist. ad Trall.*¹), where he saith St. Stephen was deacon to this James of Jerusalem, which must be betimes after our Lord's death. And therefore thus we see whom the Bishops of Jerusalem succeeded.

[¹ *Epistol. Interpol. c. vii. tom. ii. p. 66. ed. Coteler.]*

CHAPTER III.

THE APOSTLES PLANTED MOTHER-CHURCHES IN MOTHER-CITIES. THE GOVERNMENT OF THEM ESTATED UPON PRESBYTERIES. ST. PAUL AT THE BEGINNING MADE NO BISHOPS OVER THOSE PRESBYTERIES. THE REASON. HIMSELF HAD THE OVERSIGHT OF THE CHURCHES OF HIS PLANTING FOR THE TIME. THE LIKE IN THE CHURCHES OF ST. PETER'S CHARGE.

LET us now go abroad with the Apostles, and see how they followed this pattern in the Churches which they converted to the faith. Tertullian (*Lib. de Præscript. [ad-versus Hæreticos]*, c. 20,) speaketh thus of them : “ *Ac proinde Ecclesias apud unam-quamque civitatem condiderunt.*” This slight circumstance, which he but pointeth at, that the Apostles founded Churches in cities, is very considerable in our business. For it is plain, they could not be-

stow their pains on all places : reason required they should labour most to plant the faith in the most populous. And common sense, and the least knowledge of times, will serve to shew, that from thence it was propagated through the countries that lay to those cities, which therefore in time became and were called the territories, parishes, or dioceses of such or such Churches. Now the form of government estates by St. Paul over these Churches is pointed out to us (Acts xiv. 23), where we read, in the end of their first journey, that Paul and Barnabas, “ having ordained them presbyters in every Church,” returned to Antiochia. But unto Titus the Apostle writeth thus (Tit. i. 5) : “ For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou mightest set in order the things that are wanting, and constitute elders in every city, as I had appointed thee :” “ elders in every Church” in the one place, and “ elders in every city” in the other ; both to the same effect : not meaning one in a place, but

presbyteries, that is colleges, bodies, companies of presbyters, with common advice to order the Churches planted in these cities. Such a college of presbyters it was that we spoke of in the last chapter, instituted by the Apostles in the Church of Jerusalem; the pattern whereof St. Paul followeth in the Churches which he converted out of the Gentiles. And thus in the Church of Ephesus, you shall see St. Paul (Acts xx. 17) sending for the bench of elders there to Miletus. Thus in the Church of Philippi, you shall find that the Apostle directeth his epistle to the Bishops and deacons there, which must be to the college of presbyters, next above the order of deacons. Thus when the Apostle writeth to the Thessalonians (1 Thess. v. 12), “And we beseech you, brethren, to know them which labour among you, and are over you in the Lord,” the multitude whereof he speaketh is to be understood of the like company of presbyters. Thus in Ignatius’ epistles, you shall find him,

up and down, reckoning next after the Bishops the presbyteries of all the Churches to which he writeth. The like in St. Cyprian's epistles, for the presbyteries of Rome and Carthage. To spare more words, in all Church-writers you shall find continual remembrance of these presbyteries, whensoever there is speech of mother-Churches in mother-cities. And therefore those we are to understand, when we read that Paul and Barnabas ordained presbyters "in every Church," and Titus "in every city." And such bodies, or colleges of presbyters, they were, to whom the Apostle committed the Churches which he had planted. But this being granted, the question will be in the next place, Where are the Bishops, the chief and heads of these presbyteries? For had the Apostle, from the beginning of his planting these Churches, placed that rank over these presbyters, it is like we should have found some remembrance of it. Now these presbyters are styled by the name of "Bi-

shops," as hath been observed ever since St. Hierome; and which is more, to aver the observation for this purpose, neither in the relation of his planting and ordering the Churches, nor in the style of his epistles, nor in his instructions concerning ministers of these Churches, is there any remembrance or respect to be found but of presbyters and deacons; which in so much eminence of place, so much difference of Bishops' office, if any then had been, could scarce have come to pass; and maketh me conclude, that the Apostle ordained none such from the beginning over the presbyteries. No Bishop the Apostle had yet settled at Ephesus when he used these words to the presbyters there (Acts xx. 28), "Take heed to yourselves, and to the whole flock over whom the Holy Ghost hath made you **EPISCOPOS**," Bishops or overseers; for as he giveth the name to the presbyters, so he addresseth his instructions to none besides. None at Philippi, when he directed his epistle to the

“Bishops and deacons there,” neither the custom of the Church bearing more than one Bishop in one Church at once, nor being a thing reasonable to think, if any such had been, that the Apostle would not have found a room for him in the style of his epistle. None in the Churches within the charge of Timothy and Titus — set aside their own persons, whereof we shall give account afterwards, — in whose instructions the Apostle is large in qualifying Bishops and deacons; such Bishops as we read of (*Tit. i. 7*), where, having said that “he left him in Crete, to make presbyters in every city,” the Apostle addeth, “for a Bishop must be blameless;” but of any other rank, not a syllable. None in the Church of Corinth. The Commentaries under St. Ambrose’s¹ name yield this reason of the disorders the Apostle taxeth there (*1 Cor. xi. 21*), because there was no Bishop there. The words are not of

[¹ S. Ambrosii Opera Omnia, tom. iii. p. 473.
ed. Paris. 1586.]

ordinary mark : “*Hos notat qui sic in ecclesiam conveniebant, ut munera sua offerentes, advenientibus presbyteris, quia adhuc rectores ecclesiis non omnibus locis fuerant constituti, totum sibi qui obtulerant, vindicarent schismatis causā.*” So whereas that, whereof the Eucharist was consecrated, should be spent by the assembly in the common feast of love, some made good cheer ; others, that had not offered, went away without their share. Therefore saith the Apostle (ver. 22), “Have ye not houses to eat and drink in ? or despise ye the Church of God ?” coming thither for dissension’s sake and belly-cheer, not for the Sacrament and for peace ; and “shame them that have not,” sending them away without entertainment. Therefore (v. 33) he exhorteth to “stay for one another” at their meetings. Thus far out of those Commentaries. Which reason, as it giveth a clear meaning to the whole passage of the Apostle, so it groweth still more probable, because we shall find afterwards

that it continueth still in force at the time of writing Clemens' epistle, published not long since. And men of learning have argued, that this reason might better be yielded for their dissensions,—“ saying, I am of Paul, I am of Apollos, I am of Cephas ;” which the Apostle reproveth in the beginning of the epistle, to wit,—because there was then no Bishop there, and in the Apostle's absence. And indeed, if we reckon not amiss, what reason have we to think that this Apostle should ordain in the Churches of his planting a higher rank of Bishops to govern the Churches, above and with the presbyters ? Do we not see that he chargeth himself with the oversight of these Churches wherein he had planted the colleges of presbyters aforesaid (2 Cor. xi. 28), “ Besides those things which are without, that which cometh upon me daily, the care of all the Churches ? ” To what purpose else is the journey he taketh (Acts xv. 36) to visit the Churches, wherein he had ordained

presbyters afore? “Let us return,” saith he to Barnabas, “and visit our brethren in all cities where we preached the word of the Lord, and see how they do.” We see he taketh care to exercise discipline upon the incestuous person at Corinth, which it seemeth the rulers of the Church there had neglected to do (1 Cor. v. 4), pronouncing sentence of excommunication, and requiring the Church to see it ratified and executed. And for a thing remarkable, observe in what terms he proceedeth (1 Cor. v. 4), “When ye are gathered together, and my spirit,” saith he; his “spirit,” which ruled there in chief for the time. So that it is not for nothing that Tertullian (*Lib. de Præscript. [adv. Hæretic.]*, cap. 36) reckoneth Corinth, Philippi, Thessalonica, Ephesus, and the rest of the same rank, all apostolical Churches, from this one Apostle, because he planted and ruled them all for his time. “*Apud quas,*” saith he, “*ipsæ adhuc cathedræ Apostolorum suis locis*

præsident ;" which is, in good English, neither more nor less than here is affirmed. The Apostle's chair rested in them all till Tertullian's time; therefore the Apostle for his time sat in it. And to my apprehension, all his epistles are nothing else but so many acts of this government spiritual in chief, which the Apostle reserved himself in the Churches of his own planting. The like to be said of St. Peter's epistles, and hath been observed in part by Eusebius (*Eccles. Hist.* lib. iii. cap. 4); that the title of his former epistle, addressed to "the strangers dispersed through Pontus, Asia, Galatia, Cappadocia, and Bithynia;" that is, to the Jews sojourning in those provinces,—argueth it to be a work of his care, in preaching the Gospel to the charge he had undertaken, according to the division alleged before (Gal. ii. 9). And therefore, as hath been hitherto argued of the other Apostle, so when we see St. Peter (1 Pet. v. 1) direct his exhortation to "feed the flock" to

none but presbyters, we have cause to conceive that those Churches to whom he writeth, and whom we shall hear Epiphanius say anon that he went sometimes from Rome to visit, had as yet no Bishops over their presbyters. The same that St. Hierome hath argued long since out of Hebrews xiii. 17,¹ where the Apostle writeth in the plural number, “Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves.”

[¹ Comment. in Epist. ad Titum, cap. i. v. 5, tom. iv. p. 413. ed. Bened.]

CHAPTER IV.

AS THE APOSTLES WITHDREW, SO BISHOPS CAME
OVER THE PRESBYTERIES IN THEIR STEAD.
TIMOTHY AND TITUS HAD NOT THEIR CHARGE
TILL ST. PAUL LEFT THOSE PARTS. HIS JOUR-
NEY FROM EPHESUS, THROUGH MACEDONIA,
INTO GREECE. BY THE WAY HE LEFT TITUS
IN CRETE. WHY HE WINTERED AT NICOPOLIS.
AT SPRING, HE RETURNED BY LAND
INTO MACEDONIA. THERE AND THEN TIMO-
THY UNDERTAKETH THE CHURCH OF EPHE-
SUS. TIMOTHY AN EVANGELIST. THE PRO-
PHECIES THAT WENT BEFORE OF HIM, AND
THE GRACE HE RECEIVED. TITUS AND HE
OVER MANY PRESBYTERIES. BISHOPS OVER
EACH AFTERWARDS. THE ANGELS OF THE
SEVEN CHURCHES.

BUT as the Apostles began to wear out,
or otherwise as their occasions gave them
not leave to attend in person upon the
Churches of their care, reason required,
if but in correspondence to the state of

government that had hitherto rested in some Apostle and the presbyteries of particular Churches, there should be instituted some heads of these companies of presbyters, to whom the name of Bishops hath been appropriated ever since ; and certain it is, that during the time of the Apostles instituted they were. This agreeth extreme well with the charge and instructions of the Apostle to his disciples Timothy and Titus, over the Churches of Asia and Crete ; whom as all ecclesiastical writers after Eusebius acknowledge to be made Bishops of Ephesus and Crete, so must we not fail to observe here, that this was not done till it was revealed to the Apostle that from thenceforth the Lord would employ him in the western parts of the world. The business is most an end agreed upon on all hands ; yet because the observation is so effectual to this purpose, let me take leave to enlarge it by clearing the whole passage of the Apostle's last voyage from Ephesus, through

Greece, and back again (Acts xix. 21). We read at that time, "Paul resolved, by the Spirit, having passed through Macedonia and Achaia, to go to Jerusalem, saying, When I have been there, I must also see Rome." In 2 Cor. i. 15-17, he writeth to them, that he had formerly purposed to go first to Corinth, thence into Macedonia, from Macedonia to Corinth again, and of the Corinthians to be brought on the way for Judea. "When I then purposed this," saith he, "did I use lightness? or what I purpose, do I purpose according to the flesh, that with me there should be yea, yea, and nay, nay?" signifying, that not taking up his resolutions upon human considerations, it was no lightness in him to balk his intended purpose, to follow the direction of the Holy Ghost, in going first through Macedonia, God having so ordered it, it seemeth, for the reason that followeth. The first epistle to the Corinthians was sent from Ephesus about this time. From Ephesus

it is plain it was sent, though subscribed from Philippi—for those subscriptions, it is well known, are of no credit—by the salutations he sendeth (1 Cor. xvi. 19) from the Churches of Asia, from Aquila and Priscilla, which dwelt there (Acts xviii. 19); and after his first resolution was changed, because he saith (1 Cor. xvi. 5) that he meant to “pass through Macedonia.” In the 2 Cor. ii. 12, the Apostle, relating one passage of that voyage not mentioned in the Acts, “When I came to Troas,” saith he, “to preach the Gospel of Christ, a door being opened me of the Lord, I had no rest in my spirit, because I found not Titus my brother; but, taking leave of them, I departed thence into Macedonia.” Titus he desired to meet with, because he desired to hear from Corinth by him, that was coming from thence (2 Cor. vii. 6). For, as he protesteth (2 Cor. i. 23), it was to “spare them that he came not yet to Corinth; not yet,” as being directed by the

Spirit to go first through Macedonia, and to spare them, that is, not to be engaged to proceed rigorously against them, in case they gave not due respect to his former epistle. From Macedonia he despatcheth Titus to Corinth again, about the business specified, 2 Cor. viii. 6, 16; and it is most like, upon these circumstances, that both those epistles were sent by Titus, whatsoever the subscriptions bear. To go on with the Apostle in this voyage (Acts xx. 2, 3), we read, that having gone over the parts of Macedonia, and “given them much exhortation, he came into Greece, and there abode three months.” In this journey, let me be bold to affirm, it was that the Apostle put in at Crete, to preach the Gospel there: the relation agreeth so well from point to point, that I will use no other words to persuade it is true, but the coherence of it. From Ephesus, then, the Apostle parteth at Pentecost (1 Cor. xvi. 8). *By the way at Troas he stayed not, but*

came straight into Macedonia (2 Cor. ii. 12, 13). From thence, having despatched Titus for Corinth (2 Cor. viii. 6, 16, 17), going by sea for Greece, he putteth in at Crete, to preach the Gospel there; and meeting with Titus—returned from Corinth—in this journey, leaveth him in Crete, to constitute presbyters in every city, and to finish those things which he, for the strait of time, was fain to leave undone. And thus his three months being spent in Greece, he found winter at Corinth. There he had once thought to have wintered (1 Cor. xvi. 6), and that the Corinthians should bring him on his journey; which there he expresseth not, but (2 Cor. i. 16) it is for Judea. But understanding the Jews laid wait for him as he returned into Syria by sea (Acts xx. 3), he taketh a resolution to winter at Nicopolis, whereof he certifieth Titus, appointing him to meet him there at spring (Tit. iii. 12). This was a convenient rendezvous for the Apostle, in the meanwhile,

to preach the Gospel in the parts of Epirus, as far as Illyricum ; which he purposed to do when he wrote to the Corinthians (2 Cor. x. 15, 16), that when his spirit was in quiet in regard of them, he had hope “ to preach the Gospel in the parts beyond them ;” and which he affirmeth to have done (Rom. xv. 19), where he writeth, that from Jerusalem to Illyricum he had “ fully preached the Gospel of Christ.” And therefore, with leave, I suppose the Epistle to the Romans is rather to be dated from hence than from Corinth, as the subscription goeth : for before this, it could not be sent ; after this, we find not that he returned to Corinth. From whence being new come, he might send commendations from Gaius, his host at Corinth (Rom. xvi. 23, 1 Cor. i. 14) ; and by Phebe he might write, seeing him in passing by the coast of Epirus, from Corinth to Rome. When winter was spent, from Dyrrachium, the confines of Epirus — where he had wintered at Nicopolis —

and Illyricum — whither his doctrine was got — the journey by land was short and good to Thessalonica in Macedonia, by the great road in Strabo called “*via Egnatia*;”¹ so that in good time, after the days of unleavened bread, he might sail from Philippi, as we read he did (Acts xx. 6). This for Titus. As for Timothy’s case, thus we read (1 Tim. i. 3), “I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, when I went into Macedonia.” The sound of these words maketh Baronius² believe that Timothy was left with his charge at Ephesus upon the beginning of this voyage of the Apostle through Greece. And he had Theodoret to go before him in the conceit; for in his preface to St. Paul’s Epistles, he concludeth, that the first epistle to Timothy was sent from Macedonia when the Apostle passed through it.³ But it is easy to perceive that this

[¹ Excerpt. ex libr. sept. fin. p. 508. ed. Amstelod. 1707.] [² Ad annum 57. 186.]

[³ Tom. iii. p. 4. ed. Paris. 1642.]

cannot stand with the Scriptures. He that sent Timotheus, and Erastus before him, into Macedonia (Acts xix. 22), how could he leave him Bishop at Ephesus? Besides, in the first epistle to the Corinthians (iv. 17, xvi. 10), it is plain that he was then sending Timothy to Corinth, though he overtook him before he got thither, in Macedonia; for afterwards Timothy was with him in Macedonia, at the sending of his second epistle to the Corinthians, as appeareth by the beginning of it, and with him he was at his return into Asia through Macedonia (Acts xx. 4). It remaineth, then, that the Apostle, coming through Macedonia to go into Asia, began then to move Timothy to stay at Ephesus (1 Tim. i. 3), and to take upon him the charge of the Churches of Asia. Which being accordingly agreed and done, he sendeth him before with the rest of his company into Asia, as we read Acts xx. 4, 5, not knowing then how soon himself should follow

them. For thus he writeth (1 Tim. iii. 14, 15), “These things write I unto thee, hoping to come unto thee shortly ; but if I stay, that thou mayest know how to behave thyself in the house of God.” Therefore it is plain, that he sendeth him this epistle of instructions after their parting from Macedonia, but before his coming to Ephesus ; it seemeth while he stayed for him at Troas, as we read Acts xx. 5. And thus we may well understand the words of Athanasius *in Synopsi*—though Baronius¹ allege him for his purpose—because he saith no more but this, that the first to Timothy was sent from Macedonia.² But the Apostle having resolved, if it were possible, to be at Jerusalem the day of Pentecost (Acts xx. 16), maketh haste, and overtaketh his company, at Troas (Acts xx. 6). And thus we see the reason why there is no respect of

[¹ Ad annum 57. 187.]

[² Ταύτην ἐπιστέλλει ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας. Tom. ii. p. 149. ed. Colon.]

Timothy in his instructions to the elders of Ephesus (Acts xx. 18), because that then he began to enter upon his charge there, and because of the instructions he had received from the Apostle by his first epistle, besides word of mouth. So the upshot of all this discourse is thus much, that within compass of the time of this voyage, at the beginning whereof the Apostle said in the Spirit, that "when he had been at Jerusalem, he must also see Rome" (Acts xix. 21); at the midst whereof he writeth to the Romans (chap. xv. 23), that "he had no more place in those parts;" and at the end whereof he saith to the elders of Ephesus (Acts xx. 25), "And now behold, I know that all you, among whom I have gone preaching the kingdom of God, shall see my face no more;" knowing by revelation that he was to serve God no more in those parts, appointeth his two disciples Timothy and Titus to be in his stead over the Churches of Asia and Crete. Now that the charge

of Timothy and Titus giveth them a power as great as that of Bishops was from the beginning, no question is made: if they prove not more than so, the business is clear. For true it is, something not ordinary in Bishops we must acknowledge in Timothy's person when he is called an "evangelist" (2 Tim. iv. 5), "do the work of an evangelist." To which we must refer that grace whereof the Apostle speaketh (1 Tim. iv. 14), "Neglect not the gift that is in thee, that was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery." Whereof again (2 Tim. i. 6), "I put thee in mind that thou stir up the gift that is in thee, by the putting on of my hands." And (1 Tim. i. 18), "This charge I commit unto thee, son Timothy, according to the prophecies that went afore of thee." In this the disciple's case is somewhat like the Apostle's, as you shall see it anon (Acts xiii. 2), where the prophets in the Church of Antiochia, having foretold through the Holy Ghost what

God would do in the planting of His Gospel by his hands and Barnabas, and declared His will for setting them apart for that purpose, hereupon they receive imposition of hands. So, likewise, we must conceive that these prophecies went afore of Timothy, to inform the Church of the will of God concerning him, and the work He had appointed him to perform. As for the grace he receiveth by imposition of hands, what other can any man imagine it to be than that which is designed in the name of an evangelist, which the Apostle meant when he said (Ephes. iv. 11) that our Lord hath given to His Church, "some Apostles, some prophets, some evangelists?" Or how can we further distinguish it otherwise from the gifts of Apostles and prophets, than by placing it in the extraordinary temporary endowments of the Holy Ghost, enabling such persons, according to the exigence of that time, to publish the Gospel, and to persuade it? which, neverthe-

less, cometh short of the personal quality of witnesses of our Lord and His doctrine, and of the measure and kind of those graces of miracles, languages, and the like, that make an Apostle. But he that would draw this into consequence, and argue that Timothy was no Bishop because he was an evangelist, may, with more reason, conclude that Philip was no deacon because he was an evangelist, and contradict the Scripture that saith (Acts xxi. 8), “we entered into the house of Philip the evangelist, which was one of the seven.” For if an Apostle, in that eminence of graces and privileges—nevertheless abiding upon a certain charge, and taking care of it—is to be counted Bishop of a particular place, as was argued afore, much more may an evangelist for his extraordinary gift be a Bishop for his several charge: which is to say thus much in English, that the gift of an evangelist may fall upon any rank of ordinary ministers; as we see Philip, for his place in

the Church, one of the seven deacons at Jerusalem (Acts vi. 5), is nevertheless an evangelist, for the graces God had bestowed upon him, by his means to convert Samaria to the faith (Acts viii. 5). Nay, further, if the gift of an evangelist be compatible with a deacon's place, it must be granted that Timothy, as an evangelist, is no governor of Churches. And whereas it is argued, that it was but a commission for the time which Timothy and Titus are trusted with from the Apostle, because it appeareth they were otherwhiles employed otherwhere by the Apostle (2 Tim. iv. 9, 10)—as any Bishop in case of public necessities of the Church must be without the Apostle—let me be bold to affirm, that the rules of continued settled government, directed to them by the Apostle to be executed by them in their persons, are sufficient evidence that they were appointed by him for perpetual governors, and not for temporary commissaries. Indeed, as there is something

more than ordinary in Timothy's person, so is there something more than ordinary in Titus' charge, in that he was "left in Crete, to ordain presbyters in every city" (Tit. i. 5); by which, as appeareth in the sequel of the epistle, the Churches of those cities were to be governed under Titus, as was observed afore. The like to be said of Timothy, whose instructions, qualifying presbyters and deacons alone, leave him alone superior to all the presbyteries he should institute according to his instructions. Now, if we observed the custom of the Apostles, hitherto set forth, of instituting presbyteries in populous cities, and observe the custom of the Church after their time, wherein a Bishop was always head of one of these presbyteries—"Quid est enim *Episcopus*, nisi *primus presbyter*, hoc est, *summus sacerdos*?" saith St. Augustine¹—it will not be hard to espy a difference between the place of a Bishop and the extent of their charge.

[¹ Tom. iii. Append. p. 92. ed. Bened.]

For it will not serve the turn to say, as some do, that Titus was Archbishop of Crete, and so entrusted with divers Churches; for an Archbishop is a chief among Bishops, not a person to govern divers Churches, seats of bishoprics. Besides that, these degrees among Bishops came in afterwards, when the Church became incorporate into the state of the Roman empire, as having the charge of Churches in head-cities of provinces, or according to the precedence of places, wherein the emperors, or chief temporal powers, made their residence. But, in the meantime, let me use Epiphanius¹ words: “The Apostles could not settle all things uniformly at once.” Is it a reasonable thing to argue, that because St. Paul taketh no order for the heads of these presbyteries which were not yet made, therefore he did not intend there should be any such in the Church? Rather let

[¹ Hæresis 75. aduersus Aërium, c. v. οὐ γάρ πάντα εὐθὺς ἡδυνήθησαν αἱ Ἀπόστολοι καταστῆσαι.]

me argue, that because St. Paul left two of his principal disciples in two principal places, with charge to plant presbyteries as there was means to propagate Churches, therefore he gave a pattern of that which these disciples, and all the Church was to do afterwards, in settling the government of those Churches, in the presbyteries of them, and in their heads, which themselves were for the time. And this we shall find was done in good time in the Churches of Timothy's charge, if we take but a short consideration of the beloved disciple John the Apostle and evangelist, what we find concerning him in Scriptures, or otherwise received and credible in this nature. He lived longest of all the disciples, as is said: and he will easily shew us Bishops over the Churches of Timothy's charge; for such, without doubt, were the seven Churches of Asia, unto whom the Apostle, sending from our Lord seven epistles (chaps. ii. and iii. of his Revelation), directeth them to the

“angels” of those Churches ; a style not compatible to a person of common rank, and the act of directing epistles to one in the name and behalf of the whole Church arguing the eminence of the head, fit to answer for the body he representeth. Herewith agree the words of Clemens Alexandrinus, in Eusebius (iii. 23), concerning this Apostle, that being returned from Patmos to Ephesus, he used, upon request, to go among the neighbour nations, ὅπου μὲν Ἐπισκόπους καταστήσων, ὅπου δὲ ὅλας Ἑκκλησίας ἀρμόσων, ὅπου δὲ κλήρῳ ἔνα γέ τινα κληρώσων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματος σημαινομένων,—that is, “in some places to constitute Bishops”—to wit, where there were presbyteries afore that yet had none—“in some to found whole Churches, in others to ordain a clergy out of such as were signified by the Spirit,” as we read of St. Paul and Timotheus. For will you have these to be Bishops according to the use of the word in St. Paul, where it is all one with “pres-

byters?" Sure we must needs think of such as his own writings make angels of Churches. Ignatius, that was his disciple according to some, in all his epistles specificith, and sometimes by name, the Bishops of some—the same—Churches, and some of others, together with their presbyteries; and in particular Onesimus,¹ Timothy's successor at Ephesus. Tertullian² and Irenæus,³ the most ancient we can allege, have named Polycarpus in particular, made Bishop of Smyrna by this Apostle. It is not possible to say more in this case. So often as we find mention of government in particular Churches in Scripture, so often we meet with presbyteries, or the heads of presbyteries, Apostles themselves, or deriving their charge from the Apostles. Nay, it is very much,—not pretending that Bishops came on otherwise than to be

[¹ Epist. ad Ephes. c. i.]

[² De Præscript. adv. Hæreticos, c. xxxii.]

[³ Adversus Hæreses, lib. iii. c. 3.]

instead of the Apostles over particular Churches,¹—that there is so much to be said for their office out of Scriptures all written during their time.

[¹ “For to succeed them (the Apostles), is after them to have that episcopal kind of power which was first given to them. ‘All Bishops are,’ saith St. Jerome, ‘the Apostles’ successors.’ In like sort Cyprian doth term Bishops ‘*Præpositos, qui Apostolis vicaria ordinatione succedunt.*’ From hence it may haply seem to have grown, that they whom we now call Bishops were usually termed *at the first* Apostles, and so *did carry their very names in whose rooms of spiritual authority they succeeded.*”—HOOKER, book vii. chap. iv. 3. p. 186. ed. Keble.]

CHAPTER V.

THE PRESBYTERY AT ANTIODCHIA. ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL HEADS OF THE CHURCH THERE; LIKEWISE OF THAT AT ROME. THE DIFFERENCE ABOUT THEIR NEXT SUCCESSORS. EPIPHANIUS' CONJECTURE UPON IT. ANOTHER. CLEMENS SUCCEEDED ST. PETER, AND LINUS ST. PAUL. THE SUCCESSION OF THE APOSTLES THERE IS UNQUESTIONABLE.

THE Church of Antiochia is remembered next to that of Jerusalem in the Acts of the Apostles, but of the government thereof we have nothing so distinct or express in Scripture. Yet this we read (Acts xiii. 1-3), “Now there were in the Church at Antiochia certain prophets and teachers. And as they ministered unto the Lord and fasted, the Holy Ghost said, Separate Me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them. And when they

had fasted and prayed, and laid their hands on them, they sent them away.” That these prophets and teachers were all of them presbyters of that Church, is more than can be affirmed, because it is no where set down. But when we read that they “ministered unto the Lord”—which must be understood of the service of God in their assemblies, especially in celebrating the Eucharist—and gave “imposition of hands,” we find among the number of them the works of ordinary ministers, when there was no higher rank than that of presbyters able to do the like. For as concerning the heads of this Church, we must have recourse to Ignatius¹ epistle *ad Magn.*, where he useth these words, “For at Antiochia the disciples were first called Christians, Paul and Peter founding the Church.” And in the epistle *ad Antioch.*,—if it be his, as the other unquestionably is,—*Παύλου καὶ*

[¹ Ep. Interp. c. x. tom. ii. p. 60. ed. Coteler.]

Πέτρου γεγόνατε μαδηταί· μνημονεύσατε Εὐωδίου, ὃς πρώτος ἐνεχειρίσθη παρὰ τῶν Ἀποστόλων τὴν ὑμετέραν προστασίαν,— that is, “ Ye are Paul’s and Peter’s disciples. Remember Euodius, that first had the rule of you put into his hands by the Apostles.” Be he what he will be that wrote this, let me be bold to say, it agreeth marvellous well with what hath been said, and with the Scripture. In which it is plain, there were at the beginning two congregations of Christians at Antiochia ; one of the circumcision, the other converted from the Gentiles ; because St. Peter (Gal. ii. 12), “ fearing those of the circumcision, withdrew himself, and ate no more with the Gentiles.” In regard of the care of which two congregations, performed by St. Peter and St. Paul, according to the division agreed upon (Gal. ii. 9), the words of Ignatius are to be verified, where he maketh both Apostles founders of the Church at Antiochia ; who, finding themselves employed

in other parts of the world, took the same course with this Church which St. Paul did with those he commended to Timothy and Titus, and put both congregations — by that time united and concorporate in one — under the charge of Euodius, predecessor to Ignatius. These two Apostles are usually counted founders of the Church at Rome, as well as of that of Antiochia. Irenæus, iii. 3 : “*Fundantes igitur et instruentes beati Apostoli Ecclesiam, Lino episcopatum Ecclesiæ administrandæ tradiderunt. Hujus Lini Paulus in his quæ sunt ad Timotheum epistolis meminit. Succedit autem ei Anacletus: post eum tertio loco ab Apostolis episcopatum sorbitur Clemens.*” Where you see he referreth the foundation of that Church to both the Apostles, as doth Dionysius also of Corinth, some hundred and twenty years after their death, in Eusebius (*Eccl. Hist.* ii. 25), and others of later stamp sans number. Whereupon Epiphanius¹ (*Hær. 27*),

[¹ *Contra Carpocratianos*, c. 5.]

reckoning the succession of the Bishops of Rome, putteth Peter and Paul in the first place. But yet observe further the difference between the words of Irenæus — which put Linus after the Apostles — and the Latin Church, which, according to St. Hierome¹ (*Catal. Script. in Clem.*), reckoneth Clemens in that place; which Tertullian, the most ancient of that language (*lib. De Præscript.*²), averreth. To which difference we may ascribe the confusion that Baronius³ hath observed in the pontifical book under the name of *Pope Damasus*, an ancient piece, but pieced indeed out of several writings, and cross to one another divers times. As for the purpose: when it maketh Linus to succeed the Apostles and suffer martyrdom the same year—who nevertheless sitteth twelve years according to Eusebius⁴

[¹ Tametsi plerique Latinorum secundum post Petrum Apostolum putent fuisse Clementem.]

[² cap. xxxii.]

[³ Ad ann. 69. 35-38.]

[⁴ Hist. Eccles. iii. 13.]

—whereas Cletus, next in order unto him, beginneth seven years after in time; but Clemens, third in rank, one year after Linus, suffering in the third year of Trajan, long after both their deaths. Epiphanius,¹ in the place afore named, stumbling, as it seemeth, at the credit of those that put Clemens first, propoundeth this conjecture : *Εἴτ' οὖν ἔτι περιόντων [τῶν Ἀπαστόλων] ὑπὸ Πέτρου λαμβάνει τὴν χειροδεσίαν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, καὶ, παρατησάμενος ἥργει λέγει γὰρ ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν αὐτοῦ, Ἀναχωρῶ, ἀπειμι· εὐσταθείτω ὁ λαὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ τισὶ τοῦτο συμβουλεύων (εὔρομεν γὰρ ἐν τισιν ὑπομνηματισμοῖς τοῦτο ἐγκείμενον.)* These words of Clemens, quoted by Epiphanius, are yet extant in his epistle to the Church of Corinth, published not long since; wherein he calleth him that was the occasion of the schism he writeth against there, that a generous man, and so forth,

[¹ cap. vi.]

[² εὐσταθείτω, Junius : εὐσταθήτω, Petavius.]

would say in that case, “I depart; I withdraw: let the people of God be in quiet.” Epiphanius, it seemeth, meeting them at the second hand, alleged for Clemens’ advice to some man mentioned in the epistle¹—as they are indeed—conceived nevertheless they might have reference to his own case, advising to withdraw, and give way to Linus and Cletus, for the quiet of the Church; which now, by reading the epistle, proveth otherwise. Besides, he sticketh not to digest the inconvenience of admitting more than one Bishop in the same Church at once. For because, according to his conjecture, Linus and Cletus, as well as Clemens—that gave way to them—must be made Bishops by the Apostles, he addeth, that Bishops might be made there during the time of the Apostles, because they travelled sometimes from Rome—St. Paul into Spain, as indeed he purposeth, Rom.

[¹ cap. liv. p. 185. ed. Jacobson.]

xv. 24; St. Peter into Pontus and Bithynia, whither he directeth his first epistle — and must not leave the Church unprovided there. But if it be worth the while to vent a conjecture that shall avoid this inconvenience, and make all good that is reported by these ancient Fathers, that matters of circumstance, wherein they are at difference, destroy not their credit in the main, wherein they are at agreement, — let this be mine, that there were at Rome from the beginning, as at Antiochia, two congregations of Christians, one of the circumcision, the other of the Gentiles ; that St. Peter was head of the one, St. Paul of the other, according to the division aforesaid ; that after their death, Linus, who was deacon to St. Paul, if we believe Ignatius¹ in the epistle to the Trallians, succeeded him over the one ; Clemens, who was deacon to St. Peter, according to the same author there, suc-

[¹ Ep. Interp. cap. vii. p. 66. ed. Coteler.]

ceeded him over the other ; till both congregations, being concorporate and united in one, became governed by Clemens that survived. And if any man be so disfavourable, as upon these differences of the by to discredit the main, let him know, that though he allow not the pillars of the Church in their time the credit of discreet men, to have reason for what they report, yet must he allow Irenæus and Tertullian to be men of common sense, when they allege the succession of Bishops in the Churches of that time—wherein that of Rome is always one—for an evidence of the faith which had been preserved in them ever since the Apostles ; the force of the reason lying in that which Calvin hath exceeding well observed, that it was a thing known and received at that time, that *de facto* the faith which the Churches professed came by succession from the Apostles, from which succession the heretics were fain to separate, and make congregations apart, wherein to profess the

belief which themselves had devised. Be all the world judges now, whether a man in his right senses would appeal to the succession of Bishops, if it had been a thing questionable whether any such were or not. The like is to be said of Optatus¹ and St. Augustine,² when they appeal to the succession of Bishops in the Church of Rome to prove the Donatists schismatics, not communicating with the lawful successors, both of the faith of the Apostles, which both sides granted, and of their places, from which they argue.

[¹ De Schismate Donatistarum, lib. ii. c. 3.]

[² Contra partem Donati Psalmus, tom. vii. p. 5.

Numerate sacerdotes vel ab ipsa Petri sede,
Et in ordine illo Patrum quis cui successit videte.]

CHAPTER VI.

DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE BISHOP OF ATHENS. ST. MARK OF ALEXANDRIA. NO BISHOP AT CORINTH WHEN CLEMENS WROTE HIS EPISTLE. HOW THEY WERE PROPAGATED, AND BY WHAT RULE.

THUS we are out of the Scripture; but because we are not yet out of the time of the Apostles, I will name further Dionysius the Areopagite, St. Paul's convert (Acts xvii. 34), because there is so ancient a witness to depose for him, Dionysius of Corinth, some hundred and twenty years after that, averring, in Eusebius,¹ that he was the first bishop of Athens. And so the last I will name shall be the Church of Alexandria, and that for St. Hierome's sake, and in his words, because he it is that is persuaded

[¹ Hist. Eccles. iv. 23.]

and persuadeth men to think that the order of Bishops came in by mere custom of the Church, to avoid schisms that arise for want of heads. In his epistle to Evagrius¹ thus we read: “*Nam et Alexandria a Marco Evangelista usque ad Heracliam et Dionysium Episcopos, presbyteri semper unum ex se electum, in excelsiori gradu collocatum, Episcopum nominabant.*” How that can be said to come in by custom for avoiding of schism, which was practised at Alexandria from Mark the evangelist, let St. Hierome devise; it shall serve our turn, that so it was there from the Apostles’ time. Otherwise it is reasonable enough to believe that, upon such occasions, Bishops came in over some Churches, in particular the Church of Corinth, in which we find a schism; but can find no Bishop at the time of writing Clemens’ epistle, some few years after the death of the Apostles; because

[¹ Ep. 101. ad Evangelum, tom. iv. p. 802.
ed. Bened.]

the reason produced afore, to argue that there was no Bishop at Corinth when St. Paul wrote his epistles, continueth still in force at the time of writing Clemens' epistle. For (p. 52¹) he is very earnest with them to keep due order and decorum in bringing their oblations, and celebrating the Eucharist; for when he nameth there *τὰς προσφορὰς καὶ [τὰς] λειτουργίας*, by the one, we must understand the species of fruits of the earth, and meats, which the people offered, out of which the Eucharist being celebrated, the rest was spent in the Agapa, or feast of love, to which the words of the Apostle are to be referred; by the other, the Eucharist, for celebration whereof he is so earnest with them to keep due order in their assemblies; alleging that those things which the Lord had commanded to be done, those He had not commanded to be done disorderly and at random, but at set times

[¹ Ed. Junii, Oxon. 1633. Cap. xl. p. 136, ed. Jacobson.]

and seasons, when and by whom they should be done. Where God hath appointed an order, when and where, and by whom Christians should celebrate their assemblies, is not to be found in Scripture further than the Apostle's rule (1 Cor. xiv. 40), "Let all things be done decently and in order." It seemeth he argueth from the pattern of the Levitical priesthood; for so it followeth (p. 53), *Tῷ γὰρ ἀρχιερεῖ ἴδιαι λειτουργίαι δεδομέναι εἰσὶ*, &c.—"To the high-priest," saith he, "are assigned his proper services." Which further appeareth when he urgeth the example of their sacrifices, that were offered before the temple, being first visited *διὰ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ τῶν προειρημένων λειτουργῶν* (p. 54)—"by the high-priest and the aforementioned ministers." But the presbyters of that Christian Church he exhorteth with these words: "*Εκαστος ὑμῶν, ἀδελφοί, ἐν τῷ ἴδιῳ τάγματι εὐχαριστείτω τῷ Θεῷ, ἐν ἀγαθῇ συνειδήσει ὑπάρχων, μὴ παρεκβαίνων τὸν ὄρισμένον τῆς λειτουργίας αὐτοῦ*

καρόνα—“Brethren,” saith he, “let every one of you give thanks to God”—that is, “celebrate the Eucharist,” in his language,—“in his own order, being in a good conscience, not stepping out of the set rule of his ministry.” Perhaps his meaning is, that they should celebrate by turns. Howsoever, here is my reason, that there was then no Bishop there, because then there could not have been so much debate about the order in celebrating the assemblies of Christians; which, as shall be shewed afterwards, were not to be held but upon appointment of the Bishop, with advice of the presbyters, being a mark of schism to assemble otherwise. And if this be not enough, there is another to second it. Whatsoever may be argued from the dissensions at Corinth, one saying, “I am of Paul,” another, “I am of Cephas,” to shew that there was no Bishop there when the Apostle wrote this, and in his absence, still continueth in force at the time of

writing Clemens' epistle; the whole subject whereof is to quell such another dissension as this, but only that it was not under such colourable names of Paul, and Cephas, and Apollos, as he complaineth, but which is remarkable to prove my intent was as he saith (p. 62¹), a mere faction, for the love of one or two persons, against the presbyters, no Bishop bearing any part either at one end or other of it. Neither is it marvel that this Church should be still without a Bishop for some ten or twenty years, perhaps, after the death of the Apostle, so many companions of the Apostles being then alive—Clemens at Rome, Titus in Crete, Timothy at Ephesus, Dionysius at Athens, others elsewhere—to furnish whatsoever assistance they had received from the Apostle during his time, no otherwise than did Timothy and Titus to those

[¹ cap. xlvii. δι' ἐν ἡ δύο πρόσωπα σταυράζειν πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους. p. 168. ed. Jacobson.]

Churches wherein they had planted presbyteries before they had Bishops. And this must be the answer, if any man ask the question how Bishops came to be propagated through all Churches : the answer must be, they were made in due time by the heads of neighbouring Churches ; which we shall discern anon, when we come to speak of the course held from the beginning in the choice and constitution of Bishops. And by the practice of the Church, it should seem the aim was afar off to propagate Bishops according to the first practice of the Apostles. For as they planted presbyteries to govern mother-Churches in mother-cities, so, when it became questionable which Churches should have Bishops and which not, the matter was regulated according to the greatness of cities, or the multitude of presbyters which the service of the Churches in them required, whereof the Bishops were to be heads. And therefore, in the Council of

Sardica¹ (can. vi.) it is provided, that there should be no Bishop in towns or small cities where one presbyter might serve; but in those places where Bishops were of old time, or if a place became so populous that it might deserve to have a Bishop; that is, either in cities that had been so populous of old time as to have Bishops, or which should afterwards become so populous. But the seventeenth canon of the Chalcedon Council,² providing against innovation in dioceses, taketh order nevertheless, that when a place is promoted by the emperor to be a city, the form of the Church shall go along with the form of the commonwealth; that is, it shall have a Bishop, and his diocese the territory of that city. There is here a difference in the particular, and yet the same general ground of both canons,—the practice of the Apostles, ordaining presbyteries

[¹ Concil. Sardicens. Labbe, tom. ii. p. 632.]

[² Concil. Chalcedonens. Labbe, tom. iv. p. 763.]

to govern the Churches which they had planted in cities, the heads whereof were Bishops after their departure. And this seemeth to be the reason why the seats of cathedral churches are wont to be cities. And by this means Italy is so full of bishoprics, because it is so full of cities.

CHAPTER VII.

PRESBYTERS GOVERN WITH THE APOSTLES IN
SCRIPTURES. NOTHING DONE IN THE
CHURCH WITHOUT THEIR ADVICE. WHY
BOTH RANKS ARE CALLED "SACERDOTES,"
"PRESBYTERI," "ANTISTITES," AND THE
LIKE.

HAVING hitherto justified the ground whereupon we go, and shewed that Bishops came after the Apostles to be heads of presbyteries, in consequence hereunto it must now be averred, that the government of Churches passed in common by Bishops and presbyters, as from the beginning the presbyters governed with the Apostles themselves. If in that great action of the Council at Jerusalem the elders of that Church bore their part with the Apostles, what cause have we to think they did less when they were dispersed, St. James alone remaining there? If they

concurred with St. James in his advice to St. Paul about a matter of greatest weight,—how to deal with those of the circumcision that believed,—shall we imagine they did not do the like with his successors? If St. Peter call the presbyters of the Churches to which he writeth his “fellow-elders,” it is to the purpose to put them in mind of their share in that office which he chargeth himself with. If the Apostle of the Gentiles charge the elders of the Church of Ephesus (Acts xx. 28) with their part of that care of Christ’s flock after his departure, which he for his time had performed over them, shall we think them eased of it because Timothy came to be Bishop there? Rather let me conceive this to be the cause why Timothy’s instructions are addressed in the singular number to him alone, without mention of his presbyters, because they were to receive their charge by themselves about the same time: so far is it from me to think that his presbyters were

not to concur in assisting that course of government wherein he alone is directed by the Apostle to proceed. And if we can go no further in proving this point out of Scripture, the reason must be, because—as appeareth by that which hath been said—the Scriptures for the most part speak of that time when Bishops yet were not, but the Apostles themselves. To which purpose, nevertheless, there will be still something to be said out of the Scriptures, in the particulars which we shall survey. In the meantime, let us take notice of a few passages, among many more, out of ecclesiastical writers, to argue the general whereof we speak. Ignatius¹ (*Epist. ad Trall.*), *Tί δὲ πρεσβυτέριον*, saith he, *ἀλλ' ἡ σύστημα ἱερὸν, σύμβουλοι καὶ συνεδρευταὶ τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου*,—“we cannot understand righter what the presbytery meaneth than out of these words, a college or bench of asses-

[¹ *Epist. Interp. c. vii. p. 66. ed. Coteler.]*

sors to the Bishop in sacred matters.” The Commentaries under St. Ambrose’s¹ name, upon 1 Tim. v. 1, speak home to this purpose,—“ *Nam apud omnes utique gentes honorabilis est senectus : unde et synagoga, et postea Ecclesia, seniores habuit, quorum sine consilio nihil agebatur in Ecclesia.*” This is as much as can be demanded, when we hear that nothing was done in the Church—to wit, by the Bishop—without the advice of his presbyters. The same is affirmed by St. Hierome² upon Titus i. 5 : “ *Antequam, dia-boli instinctu, studia in religione fierent, et diceretur in populis, Ego sum Pauli, ego Apollo, ego autem Cephæ, communi presbyterorum consilio Ecclesiae gubernabantur.*” In that St. Hierome thinketh there were no Bishops till Churches were forced to that course to avoid schisms, it hath been

[¹ St. Ambros. Opp. Omn. tom. iii. p. 709. ed. Paris. 1586.]

[² St. Hieronymi Opp. tom. iv. p. 413. ed. Bened.]

shewed he is not in the right; but in that he affirmeth that at first Churches were governed by common advice, we may well hear him speak in so good company of witnesses. Last of all, St. Cyprian having said, once for all (epist. vi.¹), “*Quando a primordio episcopatus mei statuerim nihil sine consilio vestro [presbyterorum et diaconorum], et sine consensu plebis meæ, privata sententia gerere,*”—how well he observed it, is yet to be seen in the passage of divers businesses related in his epistles. Out of which the like is to be conceived of the presbyters of Rome, by those things that are touched there. And this is the true reason why many times—especially among the most ancient Church-writers—Bishop and presbyters both are comprised in the same styles and names, not because there were then no Bishops—as some men imagine—but because both states concurred in the same office. Cle-

[¹ p. 19. ed. Pamel. Paris. 1616.]

mens, in the epistle aforesaid (page 54¹), speaking of the ministries instituted by the Apostles, saith thus, *Καθέστανον τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν, . . . εἰς Ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν*,—that is, “they made the first-fruits of believers overseers and ministers—that is, Bishops and deacons—of those that should believe.” It seemeth, indeed, that Clemens calleth the presbyters Bishops, because as yet there was no other Bishop there, as was proved afore; for so the word is used in St. Paul’s epistles and the Acts of the Apostles, for the same reasons, as hath been said. But in Ignatius’² epistle to Hero, his deacon at Antiochia, you have these words: *Μηδὲν ἄνευ τῶν Ἐπισκόπων πράττε. Ἰερεῖς γάρ εἰσι, σὺ δὲ διάκονος τῶν ἱερέων*,—“do nothing without the Bishops,” that is, without the presbyters, who were indeed Bishops in Ignatius’ absence, when this is pretended to be written. And be he who he will be

[¹ cap. xlvi.] [² cap. iii. p. 114. ed. Coteler.]

that writ it, I believe it will not often be found that presbyters are called Bishops in any monument of Church-writers after this time, unless it be in these words of Tertullian (*De Præscript.* c. iii.), “*Quid ergo, si Episcopus, si diaconus, si vidua,*” &c., where putting the deacon next to the Bishop, he seemeth to comprise the presbyter with him in the same style. For afterwards the name of Bishops became appropriate to the heads of presbyteries; as we heard St. Hierome¹ say of the presbyters at Alexandria, that the head whom they chose themselves out of their own number, they named “Bishop” of Alexandria. Otherwise, as it is well known that the name of “sacerdos” is common to both estates, in regard of the offices of divine service which were performed by both, so in regard of the government of the Church, common to both, are they many times comprised together in the common style of “presbyters,” the name of

[¹ p. 58.]

their age, or *antistites*, *προεστῶτες*, *præpositi*, and the like, the names of their charge. For as the Apostle maketh himself an elder when he writeth to them in this style (1 Pet. v. 1), “The elders I exhort, who am also an elder,” so is the like to be observed in that well-known passage of Clemens Alexandrinus related by Eusebius (*Eccles. Hist.* iii. 23), concerning the youth which St. John commended to the Bishop of a certain place. Clemens, proceeding in the relation, addeth, ὁ δὲ *πρεσβύτερος*—“but the elder,” saith he, “taking the youth home to his house;” &c., calling him a “presbyter” whom he had named a “Bishop” but just afore. So Tertullian (*Apologet.* c. 39), describing what was wont to be done in the assemblies of Christians, addeth, “*Præsident probati quique seniores, honorem istum non pretiosed testimonio adepti*;” not meaning to tell us that there was no Bishop to be seen at these meetings—for in his book *De Præscript.*, where he nameth Polycarpus, whom

we alleged afore¹ (cap. 32), Bishop of Smyrna, he speaketh as much of Bishops that succeeded the Apostles in the rest of the Churches of their planting,—but comprising both ranks and estates in one name of “elders;” and that, upon the reason specified in the commentaries under St. Ambrose’s name, upon 1 Tim. iii. 8, where he giveth the reason why the Apostle passeth straight from Bishops to deacons; because, saith he, every Bishop is a presbyter, though every presbyter is not a Bishop, who is the chief of presbyters. And the true St. Ambrose² (*Offic.* i. 20), “*Viduarum ac virginum domos, nisi visitandi gratia, juniores adire non est opus: et hoc cum senioribus, hoc est, vel cum Episcopo, vel, si gravior est causa, cum presbyteris*”—with the elders, saith he; that is, with the Bishop, or presbyters. Justin Martyr,³ in his first

[¹ p. 45.]

[² St. Ambrosii Opp. tom. iv. p. 496. ed. Paris. 1586.]

[³ Apolog. i. cap. lxvii. p. 83. ed. Bened.]

Apology, relating the orders of Christians in their assemblies, having spoken of reading the Scriptures, “Then,” saith he, “the reader having done, ὁ προεστῶς, the ruler, maketh a speech of instruction to the people, exhorting them to imitate what was read.” And again, of the Eucharist: “Then,” saith he, “bread and wine is offered to the ruler” ($\tauῷ προεστῶτι$). Was it the Bishop alone, or the presbyters alone, that preached and celebrated the Eucharist? Sure both did it; and the name of προεστῶς was chosen on purpose by Justin to comprise both. The same is to be observed in the words of St. Augustine,¹ (*Hom. ult. ex quinquaginta, cap. ii.*), “*Veniat [peccator] ad antistites, per quos illi in Ecclesia claves ministrantur, et tanquam bonus jam incipiens esse filius, maternorum membrorum ordine custodito, a præpositis sacrorum accipiat satisfactionis suæ modum.*” “*Antistites in Ecclesia*” is not the Bishop alone, but the Bishop and

[¹ tom. x. p. 206. ed. Paris. 1635.]

the presbyters. Hegesippus in Eusebius (*Eccles. Hist.* iii. 20) relateth how some of our Lord's kindred were brought afore Domitian upon suspicion of danger to the state, in regard of their title to the kingdom, but dismissed by him upon notice of their profession of life in tilling their grounds with their own hands, tried by the hardness of them which it had wrought. “These,” saith Hegesippus, “were hereupon chosen ἡγήσασθαι τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν, to be leaders of Churches, as both cousins of our Lord and His witnesses;” comprehending both Bishop and presbyters in one title. As in Ignatius¹ (*ad Trall.*), *οἱ ἡγούμενοι τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν* is put in one word to express Bishops and presbyters both, as the circumstance of the place will evidence. To this we must add the words of Irenæus (iv. 43): “Wherefore,” saith he, “it behoveth us to obey the elders that are in the Church, which have received, according to the Father's pleasure,

[¹ Epist. Interp. cap. xii. p. 71.]

the certain grace of truth, with the succession of their bishopric.”¹ And again (iii. 3), he speaketh of the tradition coming from the Apostles, which had been preserved in the Churches through the succession of presbyters. Irenæus, that is wont to appeal to the succession of Bishops, to evidence that which the Church then believed to have come from the Apostles, here referreth himself to the presbyters for the same purpose, affirming that they succeeded the Apostles without doubt, calling the Bishops by the name of “presbyters,” in regard of the office common to both. Thus are both ranks comprised in one name of *προεστώτες* in the first canon of the Council at Antiochia,² where we read, *Εἴ τις τῶν προεστώτων τῆς Ἑκκλη-*

[¹ Quapropter eis, qui in Ecclesia sunt presbyteris obaudire oportet, his qui successionem habent ab Apostolis, sicut ostendimus, qui cum episcopatus successione charisma veritatis certum, secundum placitum Patris, acceperunt.]

[² Concil. Antiochen. Labbe, tom. ii. p. 561.]

σίας Ἐπίσκοπος, ἡ πρεσβύτερος, ἡ διάκονος where we are not to conceive that deacons are reckoned among the *προεστῶτες*, as hath been mistook ; but the sense is to be directed by distinguishing the words thus : *Εἴ τις τῶν προεστῶτων τῆς Ἑκκλησίας* (*Ἐπίσκοπος ἡ πρεσβύτερος*) *ἡ διάκονος*, reckoning the *προεστῶτες*, as well presbyters as Bishops, neither more nor less than *antistites* in Latin, which we had in St. Augustin before. And thus you have both ranks comprised in the same style, of *præpositi* in St. Cyprian, and of *præsidentes* in Tertullian. The first (*Epist. 62*), “ *Et cum omnes omnino disciplinam tenere oporteat, multo magis præpositos et diaconos curare hoc fas est.*” The other (*De Cor. mil. c. iii.*), “ *Eucharistiæ sacramentum . . . nec de aliorum manu quam præsidentium sumimus.*”

CHAPTER VIII.

WHAT PATTERN THIS GOVERNMENT MIGHT HAVE IN THE SYNAGOGUE. AARON AND HIS SONS. CORRESPONDENCE OF THE SANHEDRIN WITH THE BISHOP AND PRESBYTERS.

BEFORE we leave this point, it will not be amiss to take notice what pattern the Apostles might have for this form of government in the synagogue. For when our Lord in the Gospel (Matt. xviii. 17), giveth His disciples, in the case of private offences, the rule, *Dic Ecclesiæ [tell it unto the Church]*, it is to be supposed He reflecteth upon some bench to which that people were wont to resort with their causes—otherwise what could the hearers understand by these words?—intimating that His will was, the Church, which He was now founding, to be provided of the like. Nevertheless, in regard this Church

was intended a mere spiritual state, to be cherished and nourished in the bosom and entrails, as it were, of all commonwealths, there must no comparison be made in that which concerneth the temporal state of that people. Let us see, then, Moses' charge. Deut. xvii. 8, 9, thus we read: "If there arise a matter too hard for thee in judgment, between blood and blood, between plea and plea, and between stroke and stroke, being matters of controversy within thy gates; then shalt thou arise, and get thee up into the place which the Lord thy God shall choose; and thou shalt come unto the priests and Levites, and to the judges that shall be in those days, and inquire; and they shall shew thee the sentence of judgment." He that readeth here on the one side two sorts of persons—the "priests and Levites" for one, and "the judge that shall be in those days;" on the other side, two sorts of causes, one concerning ceremonies of the religion in force, the other the civil laws of that people—



hath cause to think that the meaning of this law is, that they should resort to several persons, according to the differences of their causes: especially, being indifferent in the words, to translate it thus: "Thou shalt come to the priests, the Levites, or to the judge that shall be in those days," as after (verse 12) it is read. Had it been thus, the correspondence had been clear between the High-priest and his inferiors in the synagogue, and the Bishop and his presbyters in the Church. But the practice of the nation beareth it otherwise; in which we must believe their doctors, when they tell us that the whole passage, as well that of "the priests and Levites," as that of "the judge that shall be in those days," is referred to the Sanhedrin, whereof R. Isaac Abarbanel giveth his reason in his commentaries upon that place: because that court for a great part consisted of priests and Levites, and therefore had the hearing of all sorts of causes. And though they

were brought hither from lower courts—whereof there was one of three and twenty persons in every place which contained one hundred and twenty families, one of three in less places—by the judges themselves, as the Hebrew doctors will have it, arguing from the words, “thou shalt arise”—“thou that findest a matter too hard for thee in judgment shalt arise;” yet can we compare the consistory of the Church with no court but this; first, because all mother-Churches in mother-cities are absolute in their rule, so far as the Scripture hath appointed it, otherwise than as the law of love tieth Christians to assist one another’s necessities; our Lord and His Apostles having instituted no other judicatories in spiritual matters but one of these presbyteries in each Church, and many of them in several Churches, when the matter required common advice. And again: because Jerusalem was the only seat of the whole state of religion and justice both in that people,

—sacrifices being done no where else,—and the chief causes in religion brought to no court but this. Well then, as Ignatius,¹ in one of his epistles, distinguisheth two parts of the Bishop's office, τὸ ἀρχεῖν, καὶ τὸ ἵερατεύειν—“to rule the Church, and to perform divine service;” so must we inquire the correspondency of the Church with the synagogue in both respects; reflecting from the Bishop and presbyters, in regard of divine service to be performed by their hands, upon Aaron and his sons, or the High-priest and the rest; as St. Hierome hath done before us, writing in these terms (*Epist. ad Evangel.*²): “*Quod Aaron, et filii ejus, atque Levitae in templo fuerunt, hoc sibi Episcopi, et presbyteri, et diaconi vendicent in Ecclesia.*” But in respect of government and discipline, whereof our Lord speaketh in the Gospel aforesaid, we must reflect upon the

[¹ Ep. Interp. ad Smyrnæos, cap. ix. p. 91. ed. Cotelier.]

[² See page 58.]

Sanhedrin as the same St. Hierome hath done in another place, upon the first to Titus,¹ saying of Bishops in respect of their presbyters, “*Imitantes Moysen, qui, quum haberet in potestate solus præesse populo Israel, septuaginta elegit, cum quibus populum judicaret.*” So then, Moses’ spirit is taken and divided upon seventy elders, to help him to bear the charge of the people (Num. xi. 25). The same thing is done when the Apostles ordain presbyteries by imposition of hands. Therefore we see the spirit of prophecy rest upon the presbytery by which Timothy was ordained, as well as upon that of Antiochia, no otherwise than it did upon Moses’ Sanhedrin (Num. xi. 26). To continue, and procure the continuance whereof upon their successors, it was that this court sat in the temple; as the old Hebrew doctors observe, it is said, “thou shalt go up to the place which I shall choose;” signifying that the temple in which the

[¹ cap. i. ver. 5. tom. iv. p. 414. ed. Bened.]

Holy Ghost dwelt occasioned the influence of it upon the court that sat there. But when Moses was dead, a president was chosen, over and beside the seventy, whom they called the Nasi, to be in his stead from age to age, as R. Moses writeth in *Hilcoth Sanhedrin*, cap. i. Such is the Bishop, chief of the presbyters, after an Apostle. All the difference is this : the Sanhedrin is but one, as the nation to which God was known was but one ; whereas the Apostle and his successors remaineth head of so many presbyteries as his office of preaching the gospel to all nations adviseth him to institute, as hath been said.

CHAPTER IX.

PRESBYTERIES COMPOSED OF NO LAY PERSONS,
AS THE SANHEDRIN. WHAT IS BROUGHT OUT
OF THE SCRIPTURE TO THAT PURPOSE. THE
LABOUR OF PRESBYTERS IN THE WORD AND
DOCTRINE. PREACHING WENT BY GIFTS
UNDER THE APOSTLES. THOSE GIFTS MAKE
NO DIFFERENT MINISTRIES. TEACHING AND
RULING BELONG TO THE SAME PRESBYTERS.
NO COLOUR FOR LAY ELDERS IN THE PRIMI-
TIVE CHURCH. PREACHING, HOW RIGHTLY
ESTEEMED.

IT is well enough known how this comparison, and the text that occasioneth it, is drawn into consequence, to prove that presbyteries were intended to consist part of elders of the people, part of ministers of the Church; as the Sanhedrin of some priests and Levites, some of the people. And it is as well to be known what a forced presumption it is to require correspondence between the Church and the

synagogue in that point, which the difference of a mere spiritual and temporal commonwealth bringeth to pass. The Sanhedrin consisted of the chief of that people, as well as of priests and Levites ; because the chief causes of that commonwealth, as well as of religion, passed through their hands. The Church is subject to all commonwealths, where it is maintained, in temporal matters ; in those which concern the soul, whom shall we think our Lord leaveth her in charge with, but those whom He trusteth with the keys of His house ? Who those are, we shall see anon. In the mean time, let this serve their turn that will needs presume that these presbyteries must consist part of lay persons, as the Sanhedrin, while we prove that, *de facto*, they did consist of none but ministers of the Church. For upon this occasion, it will not be amiss here to add the utmost of the rest whereupon that platform is grounded in Scripture ; which is, in effect, no more than that text of the

Apostle (1 Tim. v. 17), “Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour, especially those that labour in the word and doctrine;” carrying, at the first sound, an appearance of two sorts of elders—some preachers, others nothing but rulers. It is seconded, indeed, by those passages of the Apostles wherein they reckon the graces, for the edification of the Church distributed upon the members of it, upon the ascension of Christ (Ephes. iv. 11), “some Apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and doctors;” or else, both for edification and for other necessities (Rom. xii. 6), “prophesying, ministering, teaching, exhorting, communicating, ruling;” and (1 Cor. xii. 28), “Apostles, prophets, teachers, miracles, gifts of healing, helps in government,¹ tongues;” and afore (ver. 8.) those gifts which are called “the manifestation of the Spirit, given to every man

[¹ The author's reading is that of the version then in use.]

to profit withal," because of their use to the edification of the Church of that time, are reckoned as followeth : " the word of wisdom, the word of knowledge, faith, gifts of healing, miracles, prophecy, discerning of spirits, tongues, interpretation of tongues ;" and (1 Pet. iv. 11), " speaking and ministering." But that which is gathered hence is but in consequence to the two sorts of elders, supposed out of the text aforesaid. For out of these passages are culled the gifts of ruling, or helps in government, and ministering,—the offices of pastors, of doctors or teachers ; upon presumption of the difference aforesaid, to argue that the ministries appointed to continue in the Church till our Lord's coming to judgment are that of pastors, to preach in the Church ; that of rulers, or helps in the government—elders of the people—to assist in ruling ; and, last of all, doctors or teachers, to read lessons in point of religion, not meddling with government ; besides deacons, to

whom the gift of ministering belongeth. Here, it is plain, there is work cut out; and sure it is a fit place to take into consideration the first part of that office we pretend to prove common to Bishop and presbyters, consisting in labour “in the word and doctrine,” as it was in the primitive time, and is understood by the Apostle; which, withal, will make appear upon what sort of persons the rule of the Church was estates. Without doubt, when we have named the preservation of the true faith, by preventing the creeping in of heresies and errors—the instruction of those that are converted in the mysteries of the faith—diligence in propagating it, by converting more and more,—we have named a very great work of labour in the word and doctrine, and yet specified nothing but that which is contained in the presbyter’s office from the beginning. For when the Apostle (Acts xx. 29) foretelleth to the presbyters of Ephesus “the coming in of grievous wolves, that should not spare

the flock," and "the rising up of perverse teachers," it is to the purpose to put them in mind (ver. 31) "to be watchful" of these things, as of their own charge; vouching withal his own example (ver. 20), "in preaching and teaching them, both in public and house by house, admonishing them with tears, every man in particular," as it followeth (ver. 31), for them in their place and rank to follow. And the rule of the Apostle (Gal. vi. 6), "Let him that is catechized communicate to him that catechizeth in all good things," without doubt aimeth at this private way of instruction whereof we speak. Be the same said of the other Apostle's instructions to his elders (1 Pet. v. 2), "Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight thereof, not by constraint, but willingly, not for filthy lucre"—because it is said, "the elders that rule well are counted worthy of double honour," that is, reward—"but of a ready mind, neither as being lords of God's heritage,

but being ensamples to the flock." And again: the office of watching over the flock, by which the leaders of the Church are characterised (Heb. xiii. 17); the parts of a Bishop in the instructions of Timothy and Titus that concern teaching and instructing in the faith, as by the meaning of the words they may consist, so for my part they are undoubtedly taken to consist most an end, for the time of the Apostles, in that private diligence, those abilities, that watchfulness, that presbyters were to use in guiding and instructing particular persons of Christians; which in consequence must be understood of that "labour in the word and doctrine" specified in the leading text, 1 Tim. v. 17. And the reason shall be, because then, to the best of my judgment—which if it prove otherwise, then shall the spirits of the prophets be subject to the prophets—the work of preaching in the assemblies of Christians at that time—so far as we understand by the Apostle—went more by men's gifts

than by their places in the Church. Read the fourteenth chapter of the first to the Corinthians throughout, and consider what great use there was of the gifts of prophecying and speaking strange languages in their assemblies, which the Apostle there regulateth ; sure you will never imagine—for there is not a syllable to intimate it—that these were all presbyters, ordinary ministers in the Church. The like must be said of the gifts reckoned, ch. xii. 8, “the word of wisdom, the word of knowledge, discerning spirits,” and the like ; of the gifts of “teaching” and “exhorting” (Rom. xii. 7, 8) ; of “pastors” and “doctors” mentioned by the Apostle (Eph. iv. 11). The office of the presbyters at Thessalonica, the Apostle recommendeth to the brethren there in these terms (1Thes. v. 12) : “ We beseech you, brethren, to know them which labour among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you ; and to esteem them very highly in love, for their work’s sake.” But we are

not bound to think them all the same persons, whose graces he recommendeth when he addeth (ver. 19, 20), “Quench not the Spirit; despise not prophesying.” (Acts xiii. 1), There were in the Church of Antiochia “prophets” and “teachers;” and of them they were that gave Paul and Barnabas “imposition of hands.” And (1 Tim. iv. 14) these are those that “prophesied” of him; and presbyters they were, I suppose, that gave him “imposition of hands” with the Apostle. And so it was argued from hence afore, that the spirit of prophecy rested upon those presbyteries. But that all such prophets were presbyters, or all presbyters such prophets, neither is it written in God’s book, nor of itself credible, in such variety of graces specified; which all being given for edification, and used in the assemblies to that purpose, must either rest in the rank of ordinary ministers, or be counted personal graces, whether miraculous or otherwise, used for the edification of the Church, in

supplement of their endeavours which have served the turn in after-ages. He that wrote the Commentaries upon St. Paul's epistles, under St. Ambrose's¹ name, upon Ephes. iv. 11, 12, having laboured to accommodate the gifts there specified to the ministries then in use in the Church, is at length driven to this point : “ *Tamen post-quam in omnibus locis Ecclesiæ sunt constitutæ, et officia ordinata, aliter composita res est quam cœperat. Primum enim omnes docebant, et omnes baptizabant, quibus-cunque diebus vel temporibus fuisse occa-sio.* ” And after a while : “ *Ut ergo cres-ceret plebs et multiplicaretur, omnibus inter initia concessum est et evangelizare, et bap-tizare, et Scripturas in Ecclesia explanare.* ” That which he saith of all persons publishing the gospel, is justified by that which we read Acts viii. 4 : “ Therefore they that were scattered abroad, went every where preaching the word.” And

[¹ St. Ambros. Opp. tom. iii. p. 617. ed. Paris. 1586.]

again (Acts xi. 19): “Now they which were scattered abroad upon the persecution that arose about Stephen, travelled as far as Phœnix, and Cyprus, and Antiochia, preaching the word to none but unto the Jews only.” That which he saith of expounding the Scriptures, that is, “speaking in the Church,” will be justified no less, if it be referred to that variety of gifts specified out of the Apostle, most an end miraculous, and concerning that time, the use whereof was for edification in the assemblies. And the reason that is to be given for this must needs appear very considerable; because that among men chosen out of those that were newly converted to the faith in their elder years, for which they are called “presbyters,” and that in respect of other kind of abilities, tending to other parts of their office, there should be found men fit to speak in public assemblies upon human parts and endeavours, so as to preserve the decorum and reverence of so great a work, is be-

yond the compass of common discretion to imagine ; these qualities being not often found but in those that are habituated to them from their youth. Do but look on those of our Lord's kindred that confessed Him before Domitian, and therefore were made leaders of Churches, as was related before from Hegesippus,¹ and think whether men, whose hands were hardened with the plough, already struck in years, were fit to make preachers when they were made rulers of Churches : so far is it from us to think, that in the cradle of the Church no presbyter was made but for his abilities in preaching. Let us now look back a little upon the platform pretended, and ask what commission men have to turn temporary endowments into perpetual places ? or according to personal gifts and graces to distinguish œcumical offices ?—And yet it will not appear that ever pastors were distinguished from doctors by the Apostle ; for he never said,

[¹ page 76.]

that Christ hath given “some pastors, some doctors;” but his words are (Ephes. iv. 11), that He gave “some pastors and doctors,” having said afore, that “He gave some Apostles, some evangelists, some prophets,” distinguishing those, but comprising these.—If teaching and preaching must make two offices, as then they were two graces, why shall not exhorting come in for a share, and demand that there may be an office instituted for the purpose of it, as well as for teaching, which it standeth in equipage with Rom. xii. 7, 8? Why should not the word of wisdom and the word of knowledge do the like? for these, mentioned 1 Cor. xii. 8, are of perpetual use, although prophecies and strange languages were but for the time. There is one good reason to be given, and no more: because perpetual ministries are one thing, temporary gifts are another thing. Those we know, by the institution of them in Scripture,—by the office of them specified in the Acts

and in the Epistles,—by the practice of them in all ages of the Church ; these we know were in time of the Apostle, but not instituted for ministries, because not continued. The office of presbyters, we know, was both for government and teaching : both are found in St. Peter's exhortation to the presbyters of his charge (1 Pet. v. 2), “ feeding” the flock, and “ overseeing” it ; both in St. Paul's charge to the presbyters of Ephesus (Acts xx. 28), and afterwards ; both in the qualities of Bishops—that is, as is acknowledged, of presbyters—wherein Timothy is instructed by the Apostle (1 Tim. iii. 2, 5) ; both contained in that very passage that is alleged to bring in a difference of presbyters (1 Tim. v. 17) ; for those elders that “ rule well,” are such as “ labour in the word and doctrine.” Why might not the Apostle then difference presbyters by the execution of their functions, as well as by the functions themselves ? Why might not some presbyters shew more diligence

in the most eminent point of the office, taking special pains in the word and doctrine, which special pains the word *nowtēs* signifieth, and yet others be counted worthy of double honour, and good rulers, as well in respect of their diligence in the prime point as of their performance in the rest? The personal gifts of the Holy Ghost were then distributed on several persons, as the Apostle sheweth, that all might be useful, and such endowments, in the time of spiritual graces, might be employed to the edification of assemblies, as well as the gifts of ruling, to assist the presbyters in their office of government. But he that would take order now, that who could pretend a gift in ruling should be helpers in government, or in the word of wisdom and knowledge should stand up to edify assemblies, might soon find more help in government, more words of wisdom and knowledge, and in time more prophesying, than himself would desire. Well may we turn the world into confu-

sion, if we think to do what then was done ; but shall never find any ministries of place and succession in the Church but presbyters and deacons—for of the coming-in of Bishops hath been said—to the parts of whose office, consisting in ruling, teaching, and ministering, all those other gifts of the Holy Ghost are to be referred as assistant at that time ; and from whose office, and the ordinary blessing of God upon it, the effect of them all is to be expected at this time. For let me ask, what is become of those “doctors,” distinguished from “pastors,” in all succeeding ages ? Where have those “ruling elders” hid themselves, that they were never seen since the time of the Apostles ? Is it possible that the whole Church should conspire to suppress such an institution of our Lord and His Apostles, almost as soon as it was made ? Or is it imaginable, had it not been suppressed, that all ecclesiastical writers, whereof there is such store, should conspire so far to suppress the re-

membrance of it, that among them all there is not one witness produced to de-
pose for them, unless it be by those that bring the meaning with them which they desire to find in their writings? Were we alive in Tertullian's time, we might go into the assemblies of Christians, and see with our eyes what now will not be believed, though it be told us in terms plain enough to them that will understand, when he saith as afore,¹ “*Præsident probati quique seniores, honorem istum non pretio sed testimonio adepti.*” We might see them sitting in the head-room of the congregation by themselves apart from the people: whereupon they are called by him otherwhiles *ordo* and *consessus*.² And were there occasion to see any of them censured to the loss of his office, we might see him for his punishment sit and communicate in the rank of the people. It hath not been my lot yet to meet with

[¹ See p. 73.]

[² *Exhortat. ad Castit. c. 7.*]

any thing in ecclesiastical writers, or out of them, to bear an appearance of this difference, but only those words of the Commentaries under St. Ambrose's¹ name upon 1 Tim. v. 1 : “ *Unde et synagoga, et postea Ecclesia, seniores habuit, quorum sine consilio nihil agebatur in Ecclesia.* ” He speaketh in the time past, of that which had been in the Church, and was not ; and without doubt giveth men of excellent abilities, men of incomparable merit in the Church, occasion to mistake his meaning, as if he had spoke of a sort of presbyters which had been in the Church, and now were not : whereas they should have taken the whole clause with them, when he saith, “ *Unde et postea Ecclesia seniores habuit, quorum sine consilio nihil agebatur in Ecclesia;* ” and then his meaning had been plain, as in truth it is, that the Church once had presbyters that joined advice with the Bishop in all Church-mat-

[¹ St. Ambros. Opp. tom. iii. p. 709. ed. Paris. 1586.]

ters ; which my desire is to prove was so from the beginning, and which he complaineth was now otherwise. For so St. Hierome,¹ about the same time, manifestly declareth that he thought an alteration in this point was come to pass, when he saith, that at the first Churches were governed by common advice, but afterwards all was referred to one, hereupon exhorting Bishops to communicate the government of their Churches with their presbyters, as Moses did his with the Sanhedrin of Israel. And this further appeareth by that which followeth in the said Commentaries : “*Quod qua negligentia obsoleverit nescio, nisi forte doctorum desidia, aut magis superbia, dum soli volunt aliquid videri,*”—imputing the change to the negligence of “teachers,” or to their pride. And therefore they are “teachers,” that were called “elders” afore ; and through their negligence, or the Bishops taking all

[¹ St. Hieronym. in Epistol. ad Titum, c. i. 5. tom. iv. p. 412-414. ed. Bened.]

on themselves, all came into their hands ; which perhaps may be referred to that which by and by shall be said, that the Bishops afterwards in some parts took the office of preaching in the mother-church where they lived, in a sort to their peculiar, not suffering the presbyters to preach in their presence. Which office of preaching, nevertheless, as the matter is now, being become the necessary charge of Bishop and presbyters — temporary graces being ceased and dioceses divided, churches built and means assigned — as it is without doubt, and always was accounted, in regard of personal performance, the most excellent work they are able to contribute to the service of God, so is it, for the use of edification, as much to be preferred before other their employment, as prophesying is by the Apostle preferred before speaking with strange languages : always provided — since we must not now presume upon immediate inspirations, but expect God's ordinary blessing upon hu-

man endeavours — that men and abilities may be stored for the work before the work be cut out for them, so as the honour and reverence thereof may be preserved without offence. For as the Apostle saith that if unbelievers should come into the assemblies of Christians, and hear them nothing but speak languages which none understood not, they would say they were mad ; so, if the enemies of our profession should hear in our churches a great deal of tongue, but the meaning of the Scripture not in it, needs must this bring an evil opinion upon it.

[¹ 1 Cor. xiv. 23.]

CHAPTER X.

**OFFICES OF DIVINE SERVICE PERFORMED IN
CHIEF BY THE BISHOP; AFTER HIM, BY THE
PRESBYTERS. ORDER OF CHRISTIAN ASSEM-
BLIES APPOINTED BY BISHOP AND PRESBY-
TERS. MAINTENANCE OF THE CHURCH AND
POOR DISPOSED OF LIKEWISE.**

WELL, then, this particular of labour in the word and doctrine is out of doubt common to Bishop and presbyters both. It is that which St. Peter most aimeth at, when he exhorteth those whom he calleth his “fellow-elders” to the office of feeding the flock ; it is that which St. Paul for the most part expresseth, when he exhorteth the presbyters of Ephesus to “take heed to the flock, which they were to feed” (Acts xx. 28), according to his example that “ceased not to warn every one night and day with tears” (ver. 31); “teaching them both in public, and from house

to house," as it is afore (ver. 20). And we shall find this office of teaching and instructing the Church to rest afterwards upon the Bishop in chief, and upon the presbyters in consequence, whether in private, upon particular occasions, whereof we find much argument of practice in St. Cyprian's epistles; or in public, in the assemblies of Christians; for thus the matter went afterwards. The principal parts and offices of divine service — that is, the sermon, and the celebration of the Eucharist — were wont to be reserved to the Bishop, in honour of his place and the eminence of it, unless he were absent, or it were disposed of otherwise. Which I take to be the reason why Justin Martyr, in the place alleged afore,¹ related that the sermon was wont to be made, and the Eucharist celebrated, by the *προεστῶς*, which name compriseth Bishop and presbyters both, as hath been

[¹ See p. 75.]

said ; because the office belonged to the Bishop in the first place, to the presbyters in case of his absence, or the like. And you shall hear even now Ignatius¹ argument to persuade the Ephesians not to assemble for the Eucharist but with the Bishop ; " For," saith he, " if the prayers of one or two have that force that Christ is in the midst of them, much more the prayers of the Bishop and Church :" therefore it was the Bishop whose prayers the Eucharist was celebrated with. And in the life of St. Augustine² is related, that it was not the custom for presbyters to preach in the Churches of Africa—that is, not if the Bishop were present—whereupon the Bishop Valerius, being a Greek, and not so fit to speak to the people in Latin, brought that into use there which

[¹ Ep. Interp. c. 5 : with the exception of the words, " that Christ is in the midst of them," the sentence is found in the genuine epistle.]

[² See Bingham, Origines Eccles. book ii. chap. iii. 4.]

he had seen practised in the East, and assumed St. Augustine to assist him, by preaching in his presence. The Commentary under St. Ambrose's name, so often alleged, having said (upon Ephes. iv. 11), as we had it afore,¹ that at the first all sorts preached in the church, but afterwards it was otherwise settled, prosecuteth it with these words : “ *Unde nunc neque diaconi in populo prædicant.*” And of baptizing, Tertullian (lib. *de Baptismo*, cap. xvii.), “ *Dandi quidem habet jus summus sacerdos, qui est Episcopus. Dehinc presbyteri et diaconi, non tamen sine Episcopi auctoritate, propter Ecclesiæ honorem. Quo salvo, salva pax est.*” To shew us, that all services of the Church, even to baptize, belonged in chief to the Bishop, in respect to his place ;² that, for the same reason, the presbyters were silent in his presence,

[¹ See page 95.]

[² In Episcopo omnes ordines sunt, quia primus sacerdos est, hoc est princeps sacerdotum. St. Ambros. l. c.]

and the deacons not suffered at all to preach at that time. Now, as the office common to Bishop and presbyters was and is seen in the services of the Church, so was it also seen in appointing the assemblies of the Church for that purpose. This we have here to observe, out of Ignatius' epistles, in consequence to that which was produced afore out of St. Paul and Clemens, concerning the disorders of the assemblies at Corinth;¹ that to correct them, and to prevent the like, the order of the people's oblations, of the presbyters celebrating the Eucharist, of the assemblies of the Church for that purpose, was regulated by the appointment of the Bishop and presbyters. His words are these (*Epist. ad Smyrn.*²): *Oὐκ ἔξον ἐστι χωρὶς τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου οὕτε βαπτίζειν, οὕτε προσφέρειν, οὕτε θυσίαν προσκομίζειν, οὕτε δοχὴν ἐπιτελεῖν*,—that without the Bishop neither the people might bring

[¹ See p. 62.][² Ep. Interp. cap. viii.]

their offerings, nor presbyters consecrate the Eucharist, nor both celebrate the feasts of love used at these assemblies. And for the purpose of this particular it is that he is so earnest and frequent, throughout his epistles, in exhorting to be subject to the Bishop and presbyters (*Epist. ad Trall.*¹): ‘Ο ἐντὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ὁν, καθαρός ἔστι· διὸ καὶ ὑπακούει τῷ Ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις. ὁ δὲ ἐκτὸς ὁν, οὐτός ἔστιν ὁ χωρὶς τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ τῶν διακόνων τι πράσσων,—“he that is within the altar,” saith he, “is pure; wherefore he obeyeth the Bishop and presbyters: but he that is without is he that doth any thing without the Bishop and presbyters” [and deacons]. He that is “without the altar”—in Ignatius’ terms, “that doth things without the Bishop and presbyters”—is meant of those of the people that assembled, or those of the presbyters

[¹ Ep. Interp. cap. vii.]

that celebrated the Eucharist without the Bishop and presbyters, or their appointment; which was called “erecting altar against altar” in the primitive time: for so Ignatius again, in the Epistle to the Ephesians:¹ “Let no man mistake,” saith he; “if a man be not within the altar, he cometh short of the bread of God. For if the prayer of one or two be of such force that Christ standeth in the midst of them, how much more shall the prayer wherein the Bishop and Church agreeth”—that is, at the Eucharist, which he spoke of when he mentioned “the bread of God” afore—“prevail?” And therefore, in the end of that epistle,² ὑπακούοντες τῷ Ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ, ἀπερισπάστῳ διανοίᾳ, ἐν ἄρτον κλῶντες, ὁ ἐστι φάρμακον ἀθανασίας,—“obeying the Bishop and presbyters without distraction of mind, breaking one bread, which is the medicine of immortality.” A plain case. The intent

[¹ Ep. Interp. cap. v.][² cap. xxi.]

of his exhortations is to persuade them to assemble without schism ; because that to assemble and celebrate the Eucharist besides the Bishop's appointment was then the due mark of a schismatic. And that the presbyters concurred with him in ordering these matters, appeareth by the obedience he requireth to both. And so still in Ignatius the presbyters are assistant to the Bishop in all things. And this is the meaning of that sixth canon of the Council at Gangra, whereof the tenour is, " if any man assemble in private beside the Church, and will perform ecclesiastical offices in contempt of the Church, no presbyter being there with assent of the Bishop, let him be anathema ; "¹ providing herein against schism, as the occasion of that council evidenceth. Where-

[¹ εἴ τις παρὰ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν ἴδιᾳ ἐκκλησιάζοι, καὶ καταφρονῶν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τὰ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἔθελαι πράττειν, μὴ συνόντος τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου κατὰ γνώμην τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. Concil. Gangrens. Labbe, tom. ii. p. 419.]

with agreeth the thirtieth canon of the Apostles. And in the seventh and eighth canon next following of the same council, there is provision against bringing or receiving oblations otherwise than to the Church, beside the Bishop's mind, or his that is trusted for these things, for the benefit of the poor, under pain of anathema; the heaviness of the sentence proceeding upon the mark of schism which the action forbidden importeth, though there is in it a respect to the maintenance of the Church and poor, arising for that time out of the oblations of Christian people; the dispensing whereof was then another particular of the office common to Bishop and presbyters. For as we read (Acts xi. 30) that the benevolence of the brethren of Antiochia was directed to the elders at Jerusalem by the hands of Barnabas and Saul, though the seven deacons were made afore to attend upon the poor; so are we not to think that their office went so high as to dispose of their maintenance, but

to execute the disposition of Bishop and presbyters. For when the Church of Antiochia maintained three thousand poor, as is read in a passage of St. Chrysostom,¹ the Church of Rome one thousand, and five hundred in Cornelius' time, as is to be seen in his words related by Eusebius (*Eccles. Hist.* vi. 43), it is not reason to imagine that all this means was put in the power of the deacons; whose office St. Hierom² well expresseth, when he calleth them "*mensarum ac viduarum ministros,*" as those that *ministered*, not *disposed*, of their maintenance.—Though perhaps the advantage of fingering money was it that made them take so much upon them in his time, whereof he complaineth.—Nay, it is plain this must rest in the power of Bishop and presbyters by the portions and divisions thereof, wherein each of them had interest, as his maintenance; whereof we find remembrance in

[¹ Hom. lxvi. in St. Matt. t. ii. p. 422. ed. Sav.]

[² Ep. ad Evang. t. iv. p. 802. ed. Bened.]

St. Cyprian's epistles. In the last canon¹ of the Council of Antiochia [it] is provided, that the Bishop shall not alienate the Church-goods—which, though immovable, were given for the same purpose—without consent of his presbyters. And in those which are called the Canons of the Apostles—which the world knoweth are not theirs, but yet do express very ancient customs of the Church—canons iii. and iv. having ordered what sorts of first-fruits should be sent to the Church, what home to the Bishop and presbyters, it followeth, “now it is manifest that they are to be divided by them among the deacons and clergy :” to the deacons, for the maintenance of the poor; to the clergy, for their own. Where you see the interest of the presbyters in disposing of such oblations.

[¹ Conc. Antioc. can. 25. Labbe, t. ii. 573.]

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE DISCIPLINE OF PENANCE. THOSE THAT HAVE THE KEYS REMIT SINS BY PRESCRIBING PENANCE. THE INTERCESSION OF THE CHURCH. PARTICULAR PERSONS EXCOMMUNICATED AMONG THE JEWS. OUR LORD PROHIBITETH THEIR COURSE AMONG HIS DISCIPLES. TWO DEGREES OF EXCOMMUNICATION, AS WELL IN THE CHURCH AS IN THE SYNAGOGUE. THE KEYS ARE GIVEN TO BISHOP AND PRESBYTERS. THE INTEREST OF THE PEOPLE, AND WHAT IS REQUIRED AT THE HANDS OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

THERE remaineth now two particulars of the office common to Bishop and presbyters, wherein the people also claim their interest; the one is the discipline of penance, the other the making of ministers. The due course whereof, assigned by our Lord and His Apostles, will best be discovered, laying together, first, what we find of them in Scripture, and then com-

paring of it with the proceeding of the primitive time, which we shall perceive the right to go along with. The keys of the kingdom of heaven are given by our Lord to the first of His disciples, in those words (Matt. xvi. 19) : “ And I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven : and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven ; whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.” If men’s minds were not possessed with prejudice, it would soon appear to be the same power that is given to all the Apostles (John xx. 23) : “ Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them ; and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained.” But Matt. xviii. 17, 18 to the same purpose, though more at large : “ And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the Church ; but if he neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and as a publican. Verily, I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall

be bound in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.” To this must be added the proceeding of the Apostle, in delivering to Satan the incestuous person at Corinth (1 Cor. v. 3, 4, 5), which he also did to Hymenæus and Alexander (1 Tim. i. 20). Now, in the practice of the primitive Church, those that exercised this power were in part judges—censors you may call them, if you please—and in part physicians: both parts comprised in St. Cyprian’s words (Epist. li.), “*Ubi lapsis, nec censura deest, quæ increpet, nec medicina, quæ sanet.*” Judges they are, in shutting God’s house upon offenders, and binding their sins upon their consciences; and the effect of this censure such—supposing the proceeding of it to be due—that as the disease of sin is not to be cured without the medicine of repentance, no more can this knot wherewith sins, notorious of themselves, or otherwise known, are tied to men’s consciences,

be undone, without known repentance. For since the worst of the soul's sickness consisteth in not acknowledging her disease, it pleased God to give His Church power and charge to constrain offenders to take their physic, which the grief of bodily diseases is able to do alone. Physicians they are, then, in prescribing the medicine of repentance ; and in that respect alone are truly said to remit sins. God Himself saith not to the soul, "I absolve thee from thine offences," but upon supposition of the means—His own gift of repentance—that worketh the cure ; so far it is from the power of His creature to pronounce forgiveness without knowledge of the effect which the medicine of repentance hath wrought. But if we say true, when a physician is said to cure a man's disease, though all the world know he doth no more than prescribe the medicine, or at the most see it applied, with as good right is it to be said that men's sins are cured by them that prescribe the

course by which they are cured. Only, whereas he that is cured of a bodily disease is able to tell himself when he is well, he that is once sensible of the maladies of his soul is not easily satisfied when the cure is done. It hath therefore pleased the goodness of God to provide an office and charge in His Church, to assure men of forgiveness of sins upon due knowledge of repentance, by taking away that knot wherewith they remained tied upon their consciences. Firmilianus, Bishop of Cæsarea Cappadocia, in his epistle to St. Cyprian, the seventy-fifth in number of his epistles, thus writeth: "*Lapsis quoque fratribus, et post lavacrum salutare a diabolo vulneratis, per pœnitentiam medela queratur. Non quasi a nobis remissionem peccatorum consequantur, sed ut per nos ad intelligentiam delictorum suorum convertantur, et Domino plenius satisfacere cogantur.*" To this purpose was the time, and order, and fashion of penance regulated in the ancient Church, that the dis-

eases of the soul might receive every one their competent cure ; and therefore it is plain, that among them it was a favour to be admitted to penance, in opposition to Novatianus, “ *qui nemini dandam pœnitentiam putavit,* ” saith St. Ambrose¹ (*De Pœnit.* lib. i. cap. 2) ; exhorting men to repentance indeed, but leaving them for pardon to God, Who had power to give it, as his disciple Socrates writeth (*Eccles. Hist.* iv. 28) ; that is, not employing the power of the keys, and the benefit of it, to the cure of their offences. Whereupon St. Ambrose, you see, calleth it “ *dare pœnitentiam;* ” as on the offender’s side it was then called “ *petere pœnitentiam,* ”² demanding and granting of penance. For this cause it was that this medicine of repentance was wont to be joined with the prayers of the congregation, but in the chief place, of the Bishop and presbyters ; which, if repentance be physic, is

[¹ Tom. iv. p. 349.]

[² *De Pœnitent.* lib. ii. cap. ix. p. 380.]

correspondent to that which is given to make physic work ; and this is called in Tertullian,¹ “*presbyteris advolvi, et caris Dei adgeniculari, omnibus fratribus legationes deprecationis suæ injungere* ;” and in St. Augustine,² “*gemitus columbae*,” the “mourning of the turtle,” procuring their release at God’s hands. And to this purpose was the imposition of hands so often repeated in penance, because, as St. Augustine saith of it in confirmation —wherein he followeth Tertullian ; the one in these words, “*Quid enim est impositio manuum, nisi oratio super hominem ?*”³ the other afore him in these,⁴ “*Dehinc manus imponitur per benedictionem advo-*

[¹ *De Poenitentia*, c. ix.]

[² *De Baptism. contra Donatistas*, lib. iii. c. xviii. tom. vii. p. 48. ed. Paris. 1635.]

[³ *Manus autem impositio, non sicut baptismus, repeti non potest. Quid est enim aliud, nisi oratio super hominem ?* St. August. *de Baptism. contr. Donatist.* lib. iii. cap. xvi. tom. vii. p. 47.]

[⁴ *Tertullian. de Baptism. cap. viii.*]

cans et invitans Spiritum Sanctum;”—that it is but a ceremony of benediction, imploring the overshadowing of the Holy Ghost, which it representeth. So was it in penance nothing else but a form of benediction, interceding for their reconciliation. This may very well be thought to be the intent of the words of our Lord in the Gospel alleged, Matt. xviii. 19. For, having delivered to the Church the power of binding and loosing, in the words recited, it followeth straight: “ Again, I say unto you, that if two of you shall agree on earth as touching any thing that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father which is in heaven : for where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.” For as, in the words next going afore, He sheweth how men’s sins are bound and loosed—to wit, by the power which He giveth His Church to that purpose,—so He may well seem, in the next words, to point at the course by

which this power may become effectual to the loosing of sins, to wit, the intercession of the congregation of God's people. At least thus much hath been observed by men of excellent learning, that lamenting is a work specified by the Apostle himself, in the business of reducing offenders by penance (1 Cor. v. 2) : "Ye have not lamented to put away such a transgression from you ;" and again (2 Cor. xii. 20), "I fear that when I come unto you, I shall not find you such as I desire . . . and shall bewail many which have sinned already, and have not repented of the uncleanness, and fornication, and lasciviousness, that they have committed ;" meaning that he should put them to penance by consequence. This maketh the interest of the congregation in the work of discipline to be considerable, but entitleth it not to the keys of God's house. For to conceive our Lord's meaning aright, let us take notice that there was among the Jews much use of excommunicating by parti-

cular persons—as is to be seen in their writings: Maimoni, in *Talmud Torah*, c. vii.; *Arba Turim*, or *Shulchan Aruch*, in *Jore Deah*, *Hilcoth Niddui Ucherem*—and that many times upon causes of their particular interest. For example, a rabbi, or rabbi's mate, was able to excommunicate for his credit, when he found himself slighted. True it is, they count it commendable in a rabbi to pass over all disrespect to himself in private; but he that shall do it in public, they bind him to remember it, and watch his party like a serpent, till he seek favour and reconciliation (Maimoni, *n. ult.*). And true it is, that in some cases they void excommunication that is grounded upon particular interest, and not for the honour of God (*Jore Deah*, out of the *Jerusalem Talmud*, and R. Joseph Karo upon it, f. 364). And generally, he that excommunicateth without cause is to be excommunicated himself—it is the last of twenty-four causes for which they excommuni-

cate ;¹—but what disorders might come upon such practice is easy to imagine. And therefore there is great cause to think that our Lord's words, whereof we speak, are aimed on purpose to abrogate this course among His followers, though covertly to avoid offence. For two things He prescribeth in opposition to it: first, to aim at a brother's reformation and nothing else in all the proceeding (Matt. xviii. 15), “ If thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone: if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother.” The second is, that they shall proceed no further than contestation in private. The rest He prescribeth to be referred, in public, to the Church. So it followeth, “ But if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established. And if he shall neglect

[¹ Vid. Morin. de Administrat. Sacrament. Pœnitent. lib. iv. cap. 28. § 2.]

to hear them, tell it unto the Church.” Now this word *'Εκκλησία*, *the Church*, as also *Συναγωγὴ*, is first used in the Greek of the Old Testament, to signify the congregation of the people of Israel. The Jews that have lived since the prophets have espoused and appropriated this latter word, the *synagogue*, to signify sometimes the whole body of that nation, or rather of that faith—as among the Fathers *the synagogue* standeth for the Jews, in opposition to the Church of Christians—sometimes particular congregations of it, and, by consequence, the place of their assemblies, as in the Gospel,¹ “ He loveth our nation, and hath built us a synagogue.” And just so, in all respects, is the word *Ecclesia*, the Church, used in relation to Christians; our Lord, in the Gospel, having begun to appropriate it to the congregation which He now began to institute (Matt. xvi. 18), “ Upon this rock

[¹ St. Luke vii. 5.]

will I build my Church ;” and in the text in hand (Matt. xviii. 17), “ tell it to the Church.” So that it must not be denied it is not usual for the Church, which signifieth the whole congregation of people, to signify the chief part of it. But it is as certain, on the other side, that looking backward to the synagogue, upon which our Lord reflecteth, as was said, such censures as these are whereof our Lord speaketh, proceeding from the public—private ones being excluded, as hath been said—issued all from the courts of justice mentioned afore, without respect to the congregation of the people. As thus : there were among them two degrees of excommunication, and no more ; the less called נdry, that is, “ separation ;” the greater חרם, or “ anathema ;” and the effect of them, to cut a man off, more or less, from the congregation of the people ;—as is to be seen in the late most learned work,¹ *De Jure Nat. et Gent. juxtap. disc. Ebr.* iv. 9.—The

[¹ Selden, p. 536. Argentorati, 1665.]

ordinary sentence of separation, which is that we spoke of afore, was for thirty days, unless the court thought fit to abridge and enlarge the term. For that time, no man must come within four cubits of him that stood excommunicate, besides those of his house; he must not be reckoned among three, which is the number required at blessing of meat; he must not be reckoned among ten, which is the number required to make a synagogue; under that, they go not to prayers in the synagogue. And how it is in the power of the court to aggravate this, is to be seen in *Shulchan Aruch*, as afore,¹ Num. x. At thirty days' end they iterated the sentence, and stayed thirty days more; if then he stood out, it was in their power to excommunicate him with curses, which is that which is called "anathema." With these the proceedings of the Christian Church keep some correspondence, according to Scripture. For when our Lord saith, "If he hear not

[¹ p. 127.]

the Church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and as a publican," He intimateth withal a course the Church had to take for his correction and amendment that should give ear to it: which, as it might perhaps end in a verbal admonition of the Church, and real amendment of the party, yet those that were under the discipline of penance we know were in a sort excommunicate, because they were not admitted to the communion of the Eucharist; besides that—as those which were separated among the Jews—they put upon them the state, and fashion, and habit of mourners. And I shewed afore what we find in Scripture to argue this course directed by our Lord, and practised by the Apostle. But here was a difference, that in that state we find not that a man was cut off from the conversation of Christians; those which were admitted to penance being always accounted in the way of salvation, supposing the performance of their enjoined

penance. That was the effect of that grievous censure whereof our Lord speaketh, "Let him be unto thee as a heathen man and as a publican." Not because He meaneth to forbid Christians to converse with heathen men and publicans, who, being to be converted from among them, must needs be compassed with them on every side; and therefore that case the Apostle hath resolved (1 Cor. v. 9, 10), where he informeth them that, whereas he had "written to them not to converse with fornicators," his meaning was, not to forbid them to converse with "the fornicators of this world"—that is, Gentiles—or with "the covetous, or extortioners, or with idolaters; for then must ye go out of the world;" and as it followeth (ver. 12), "for what have I to do to judge those that are without? do not ye judge those that are within?" But our Lord's meaning is, that Christians should shew that respect to a brother that should be refractory to the Church, as the Jews did

then to Gentiles and publicans ; which the Apostle secondeth there (ver. 11), “ Now I write to you not to converse, if any man that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner, with such an one no not to eat;” which is to avoid them, as the Jews did him that stood separate. And the sentence whereupon this is to be practised is intimated in the next verse : “ For what have I to do to judge those that are without ? do not ye judge those that are within ? ” And this censure it seemeth the Apostle presupposeth, when he writeth to Titus (iii. 10), “ A man that is an heretic, after the first and second admonition reject.” For his meaning is, not to instruct Titus alone what he in his person should do, but in the person of Titus to instruct all the Church to reject and avoid refractory heretics ; and therefore, in the consequence of avoiding them, it seemeth he intimateth the censure whereupon they are to be

avoided. The same censure against the incestuous person at Corinth he intimateth by the same consequence, when he saith (1 Cor. v. 13), “Therefore put away from you that wicked person;” which he calleth “giving over to Satan” in the same case, ver. 5, afore, and in the case of Hymenæus and Alexander (1 Tim. i. 20); and which he signifieth (1 Cor. xvi. 22), “If any man love not the Lord Jesus, let him be anathema, maranatha;” where “anathema” is the term that cometh from the synagogue; and so doth the other, as some men think. So that this censure cutteth men off from the conversation of Christians, which forfeit the privileges to which they pretend, and so delivers them to Satan by consequence; as those that lodged without the camp of Israel were in danger to be licked up by the Amalekite. Which course, nevertheless, as it was preservative in regard of sound members, that they might not be tainted, as the Apostle signifieth when he

saith (1 Cor. v. 6), “ Know ye not that a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump ? ” so was it medicinal in respect of the sick, shame and grief being a good way to the cure ; which the Apostle seemeth to respect when he directeth (1 Cor. v. 6), “ to deliver him to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit might be safe in the day of the Lord Jesus ; ” and (1 Tim. i. 20), “ whom I have delivered to Satan, that they may learn not to blaspheme.” This is the correspondence between the proceeding of the Church and synagogue. And therefore, as looking backward to the synagogue, whereupon our Lord reflecteth when He saith “ *Dic Ecclesiae,* ” we see to whom they had recourse ; so shall we see, looking forwards upon the Church, which our Lord pointeth towards in the same words, to whom He directeth His followers to have recourse. The keys of God’s house are given in the Gospel to St. Peter, with the effect of binding and loosing ; and

the same power to all the Apostles, in equivalent terms of retaining and remitting sins;¹ for if there were advantage, it were an inconvenience that, in the third place, the power of binding and loosing should be given to the Church, which is pretended [to be] given to St. Peter for a privilege beyond the Apostles. Well then might St. Cyprian argue (*Epist. xxvii.*), that because our Lord promised to St. Peter the keys of His Church, therefore the acts of government of it were to pass through the Bishop's hands, and without him apostates could not be reconciled. And it is the same which St. Augustine affirmeth so oft as he teacheth — which many times he doth — that St. Peter in receiving the keys represented the Church; as,² “*Si hoc in Ecclesia fit*” — he speaketh of binding and loosing — “*Petrus, quando claves accepit, Ecclesiam*

[¹ St. John xx. 23.]

[² Exposit. in Evangel. S. Johann. Tractat. 50. de cap. xii. tom. ix. p. 152. ed. Paris. 1635.]

sanctam significavit." For what was promised to St. Peter was given the rest of the Apostles, but was to rest in the Church, to which it is also given in the same terms;¹ as St. Cyprian is willing to acknowledge, so oft as he calleth the presbyters his colleagues, and professeth to do nothing without their advice. So that it is not possible to give a more impartial meaning to the words of our Lord in the Gospel, than the practice of those times hath expressed, when that power was exercised in common by the Bishop and his presbyters. This it is Tertullian hath shewed us (*Apolog.* cap. xxxix.), alleged

[¹ Dicitur beatissimo Petro, Tibi dabo claves. Transivit quidem etiam in alios Apostolos jus potestatis istius, et ad omnes Ecclesiæ principes decreti hujus constitutio commeavit: sed non frustra uni commendatur, quod omnibus intimetur. Petro enim ideo hoc singulariter creditur, quia cunctis Ecclesiæ rectoribus Petri forma præponitur. S. Leonis Magni Serm. iii. p. 53. ed. Lugdun. 1700.]

afore,¹ where, having commended the gravity and integrity of ecclesiastical censures, to shew by whom they were done, he addeth, as afore, “*Præsident probati quique seniores, honorem istum non pretiosed testimonio adepti.*” And St. Augustine’s words are plain, which we had afore,² “*Veniat [peccator] ad antistites, per quos illi in Ecclesia claves ministrantur . . . et præpositis sacrorum accipiat satisfactionis suæ modum.*” And in St. Cyprian there is so much mention of reconciliation by imposition of hands of the Bishop and clergy, that I will say no more of it, because this point, of all the rest, hath continued a chief employment of presbyters in the corrupt and pernicious opinions and customs of the Church of Rome. Let not any man think now that the Apostle communicateth this power with the congregation of the Church of Corinth, when he writeth to them (1 Cor. v. 4, 5), “being assembled with his spirit, to deliver the

[¹ p. 73.][² p. 75.]

incestuous person to Satan." For it is plain that the sentence is given by the Apostle (ver. 3), where he writeth, " For I verily, as absent in body, but present in spirit, have judged already as though I were present, concerning him that hath so done this deed." And to cause this proceeding to be the better digested, he hath vouchsafed his power in the end of the chapter afore, ver. 18: " Now some are puffed up, as though I would not come unto you; but I will come unto you shortly, if the Lord will, and will know not the speech of them that are puffed up, but the power. What will you? shall I come unto you with a rod, or with the spirit of meekness?" Which power otherwhiles he setteth before them, in case of their disobedience. And therefore it must be acknowledged that he writeth to them to see his sentence published, ratified, and executed, which the presbyters there had either neglected to do, as was touched afore, or perhaps were not able

to bring the people under the discipline of Christ's kingdom ; which must needs oblige the Apostle to interpose. And therefore the Italian gloss of Diodati,¹ which maketh the Apostle in this place speak of assembling the pastors and guides of the Church, as in Matth. xviii. 17, though in effect true—because, for certain, what is to be acted by the congregation, therein the presbyters are to do their part, by the meaning of the Apostle —yet must leave us room to think that the words are to be understood of the public assemblies of the Church there for divine service, seeing we find in Tertullian, the place afore quoted,² that these censures were exercised at and in the assemblies of the Christian people : “ *Ibidem etiam exhortationes, castigationes, et censura divina,*” saith he, speaking of their assemblies. And St. Cyprian,³ in the great

[¹ Parla alla raunanza de' pastori e conduttori della Chiesa.] [² *Apolog.* c. xxxix.]

[³ *Ep. vi.* See p. 70.]

case of those that fell away in persecution, writeth to the presbyters, that he doth not think to do any thing in it without their counsel, and the consent of the people. And this, without doubt, is the reason why the Apostle writeth in these terms (1 Cor. v. 12) : “ For what have I to do to judge those that are without ? do not ye judge those that are within ? ” speaking to the Church in general — though the sentence passed, as hath been said, by Bishop and presbyters — because matters were censured in the congregation, and executed by the people. And thus the practice of that time giveth a reason, without straining, why our Lord seemeth to refer these matters to the congregation, when He saith “ tell it to the Church ; ” because they passed at their assemblies, though under censure of Bishop and presbyters. And great reason there is why this regard should be had by the Apostle, and by the Church afterwards, to the people ; because the Church, being a mere

spiritual commonwealth, and not endued with temporal strength, so much as to execute those sentences which the power of the keys, given by Christ, obligeth it to inflict—always setting aside that power of working miracles which was in the Apostle, upon which some think he reflecteth in some passages of those epistles—requisite it was, then, the congregation should be satisfied of the course of those proceedings, which must come into execution and effect by their voluntary submission to the will of God, and the office of His ministers. And as the matter is now, that things of this nature proceed not upon men's private consciences and judgments in particulars, but upon general rules of common right, requisite it is that the commonwealth have satisfaction of those laws according to which the Church now must proceed in their censures; it being acknowledged that they cannot proceed with effect but by virtue of those laws that are put in force by the secular arm. But as

it is now no longer time to leave matters to the conscience of men's places, which may be regulated by laws which experience maketh commendable, so is it no longer time to expect at the people's hands voluntary submission to the discipline of the Church, further than it is enabled by laws of the kingdom to exercise it. And therefore it is much to be wished that the laws by which the ministers of the Church are enabled, directed, constrained to exercise this prime part of their office, may prove so sufficient, and that the power of the keys given it by our Lord in the Gospel may be so strengthened by the secular arm, and rules put in force by it, that it may be able to reduce all heinous and notorious offences under the discipline of penance, and to cut them off from the Church that refuse it. Is it to be believed that our Lord's intent was, in settling such a power as this is, that it should take hold of sins of incontinence, or the like, letting all others, of as deep

a stain, and as well known, escape uncensured? Or could any man devise a more puissant means to discountenance malefactors in a Christian commonwealth than that which our Lord hath appointed, by making them know that, when they have satisfied the laws of the kingdom with loss of goods or fame, or have escaped with life by the gentleness of them, the fact being proved, nevertheless they cannot communicate with the people of God till the Church be satisfied of their correction and amendment? Nay, shall we imagine that the institution of our Lord Christ is satisfied and in force in a Christian commonwealth, so long as the case of particular offences, upon occasion whereof it is settled by Him in the Gospel, is scarce understood among us, because it is so far from common practice by the laws of the kingdom? whereas it might easily appear what an excellent and charitable course our Saviour hath chalked out to us, if a good Christian

heart, being desirous rather of his brother's amendment than of his own satisfaction, and able to make an appearance of such an offence, as our Lord intended, by witnesses,—the Church, enabled by rules of law established by the secular arm, should call the person offending to the acknowledgment of wrong on his side, cutting him off in case he refused amendment. Thus much for certain : if the zeal of well-affected Christians towards the state of this Church did not mistake the true mark, the discipline of penance must needs be thought one of the first points to be reformed in it. And then the rest of that satisfaction, which the people can demand of the Church, will consist in not releasing the correction inflicted until there be reasonable appearance of the effect wrought by it. For if, in St. Cyprian's discipline, the people rested so unsatisfied of some whom his gentleness had reconciled, that they were hardly persuaded to admit them to com-

municate, as he writeth, *Epist. lv.*,—just cause have good Christians to be scandalised when they see them admitted to communicate of whose offences they are sure, but have no cause to be sure of their amendment.¹

[¹ The following words of the author may not be out of place here: “Let the law of the land provide that no man may have Christian burial,—that is, be buried in consecrated ground, and with the office of the Church,—but he whom his curate knows to have received the communion within the year; and I believe the most part of them that excommunicate themselves will return of themselves. But then it must be provided, and the Bishop must be enabled by law, to discharge that curate of *office* and *benefice* that shall falsify his trust in that point. Now give me leave to demand, whether the Church be under *protection* or under *persecution*, if the curate be not enabled by law to refuse Christian burial to those of whose salvation he can give no account, because they withdraw themselves from his cure?” *A Discourse of the Forbearance or Penalties which a due Reformation requires*, pp. 169, 170.]

CHAPTER XII.

OF ORDINATIONS WHAT IS REMEMBERED IN
SCRIPTURE. THE COURSE HELD IN THE
PRIMITIVE CHURCH. THE ELECTION AND
CONSTITUTION OF BISHOPS UPON WHAT
GROUNDS. PRESBYTERS HAD THEIR PART
IN ORDINATIONS: XEIPOTONIA WAS NOT
ELECTION BY HOLDING UP HANDS. ORDI-
NATION OF DEACONS FOR COMMON BUSI-
NESS OF CHURCHES. THE INTEREST OF THE
PEOPLE IS SATISFIED IN THE COURSE NOW
PRACTISED. WHAT THE PRIMITIVE FORM
REQUIRETH IN THE CONSTITUTION OF BI-
SHOPS.

As for the constituting and ordaining of ministers, which is behind of my promise, these are the particulars remembered concerning it in Scripture, for the most part touched upon occasion heretofore: Acts xiii. 3, "And when they had fasted and prayed, and laid their hands on them, they sent them away." Acts xiv. 23, Paul

and Barnabas, “when they had ordained them elders in every Church, and had prayed with fasting, they commended them to the Lord, on whom they believed;” and 1 Tim. iv. 14, “Neglect not the gift that was given thee by prophecy, with the imposition of hands of the presbytery;” which is 2 Tim. i. 6 “by imposition of my hands;” and the charge of the Apostle unto him 1 Tim. v. 22, “Lay hands suddenly on no man, neither be partaker of other men’s sins;” and the whole instructions of the Apostle to Timothy and Titus, by whom he had appointed them to be ordained. To which must be added the choice of Matthias, and the seven deacons, where is said, “that they”—the congregation—“put up two” (Acts i. 23); “and the twelve said unto them, Look ye out among you seven men of honest report” (Acts vi. 3); and ver. 5, “and they chose Stephen,” and the rest; and ver. 6, “they set them before the Apostles; and when they had prayed, they laid

hands on them." Which are alleged by St. Cyprian¹ for the interest of the people in this business. Wherein we shall discern the course of proceeding in the primitive Church, by that which is read in an heathen,² who being an enemy to all, cannot be thought partial to any rank of Christians. It is in the life of Alexander Severus; where you have related how that excellent young prince, being to promote to the government of provinces, or the like charges, was wont to set up the persons' names, inviting the people to come in against any of them, upon any crime whereof they could make evidence, upon pain of life if any failed in it. And then it follows, "*Dicebatque grave esse, quum id Christiani et Judæi facerent, in prædicandis sacerdotibus qui ordinandi sunt, non fieri in provinciarum rectoribus, quibus et fortunæ*

[¹ Ep. lxviii. ad clerum et plebes in Hispania.]

[² Historiæ Augustæ Scriptores vi. tom. i. p. 997.]

hominum committerentur et capita." These words, "*in prædicandis sacerdotibus qui ordinandi sunt,*" the learned Casaubon¹ understandeth to be meant of that publication of men's merits and qualities which must needs fall out in discussing the competence of persons put up to the approbation of the people, to be ordained in any rank of ministers in the assemblies of Christians, according to the custom then in practice. Which custom St. Cyprian commendeth upon the pattern of Eleazar, made and invested high priest by Moses in sight of the people; whose interest he specifieth when he saith:² "*Ordinationes sacerdotales non nisi sub populi assistentis conscientia fieri oportere, ut plebe præsente, vel detegantur malorum crima, vel bonorum merita prædicentur; ut sit ordinatio justa et legitima, quæ omnium suffragio et judicio fuerit examinata.*" But before men's deserts and qualities could be scanned, it behoved that their persons

[¹ in loc. citat.]

[² Ep. lxviii.]

should be nominated in the first place, the publication whereof is called in the sixth canon of the Chalcedon council,¹ ἐπικήρυξις: where it is provided, *Μηδένα δὲ ἀπολελυμένως χειροτονεῖσθαι μήτε πρεσβύτερον, μήτε διάκονον, μήτε δλως τινὰ τῶν ἐν τῷ ἐκκλησιαστικῷ τάγματι, εἰ μὴ ἴδικῶς ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ πόλεως ἢ κώμης, ἢ μαρτυρίῳ ἢ μοναστηρίῳ, ὃ χειροτονούμενος ἐπικηρύττοιτο,—*“that no man be ordained presbyter or deacon, or in any rank of the Church at large, unless he be published to be ordained in some particular church of a city or village.” That which is called here ἐπικήρυξις, *prædicatio* in Latin, meaning the publication of persons’ names that were put up to be ordained, seems to come nearer that which the historian meaneth when he saith “*in prædicandis sacerdotibus,*” because hereupon followed the examination of their competence which St. Cyprian declareth to be the interest of the

[¹ Concil. Chalcedonens. can. vi. Labbe, tom. iv. p. 758.]

people. For if we conceive that all men indifferently had the right to nominate, we must think a great deal of unsufferable confusion must needs follow at such assemblies. And the same St. Cyprian, when he writeth to his clergy (Ep. xxiv.) concerning the ordination of Saturus and Optatus, in these words, "*quos jampridem communi consilio clero proximos feceramus,*" excusing himself to them that he had ordained them alone, upon this, that they had before promoted them to be next the clergy by common advice,—sufficiently sheweth that the course was to advise with the presbyters and rest of the clergy about the persons to be propounded to the people. We need then no more to shew us the course of that time. There was first nomination of the person to the people; upon their knowledge and approbation of the persons, and agreement, there followed imposition of hands, wherein consisted the accomplishment of the work, from whence the whole was called in

Greek *χειροτονία*, as *ordinatio* in Latin compriseth the whole work whereby they are promoted. In the ordination of Bishops there must needs be something particular. By the precedent¹ which St. Hierome hath recorded us in the Church of Alexandria, where he said afore, that the presbyters were wont to choose a Bishop out of their own rank, it is plain their stroke was the greatest in nominating the person, to be approved by the people, and ordained by the Bishops. And the Commentaries, under St. Ambrose's name, upon Ephes. iv. 11, tell us, that at the first the next of the presbyters in rank was wont to be assumed — and so might it well be practised in some places—until it was tried that divers times they fell out to be unfit for the place. Then, saith he, “*immutata est ratio prospiciente Concilio,*² *ut non ordo sed meritum crearet Episcopum, multorum sacerdotum judicio consti-*

[¹ See p. 58.]

[¹ Council of Nice, canon iv.]

tutum, ne indignus temere usurparet, et esset multis scandalum,” — “the course was changed upon advice, which provided that a Bishop should not be made by rank, but by merit, to be esteemed by the judgment *multorum sacerdotum,*¹ signifying by this term as well the presbyters of the one Church by whom he was desired, as the Bishops of other Churches by whom he was ordained. For because, according to that which we conceived afore, from the beginning Bishops were propagated through all Churches by no other means but by the assistance of neighbour Churches that had Bishops afore, hereupon it proceeded to be a custom in the Church, that a Bishop was not made without approbation and consent of the neighbour Bishops, from whom he was to receive imposition of hands, and with whom he was to preserve the unity of the Church, which at that time was actuated by no means, but

[¹ tom. iii. p. 617.]

by the correspondence of Bishops in the name of their Churches. This is the ground of the custom, that under three Bishops it was not usual to ordain one. Novatianus was ordained by no less at Rome, in the way of schism, against Cornelius, who was ordained by sixteen, as we read in St. Cyprian.¹ But when the proceeding of this business came to be regulated by the canons of Nice and Antiochia, the Church by that time being incorporated in the state of the Roman empire, then was it thought fit that a Bishop should be made by all the Bishops of the province, the Metropolitan, that is, the Bishop of the head city, in chief, without whom nothing to be done; so that if some few agreed not, the business nevertheless to proceed, and be executed by three at the least. The intent was indeed, so far as opportunity should serve, that these acts should be done at the provincial synods

[¹ Ep. lii. ad Antonianum de Cornelio et Novatiano.]

of Bishops, to be held twice a year by the fifth canon of Nice; as may be observed, among others, in that which St. Augustine mentioneth (*Contra Cresc.* iii. 26): “*De vestris autem majoribus exstat secundi Tigisitani concilium, cum paucissimis quidem factum, apud Cirtam, post persecutionem codicum tradendorum, ut illic in locum defuncti ordinaretur Episcopus.*”¹ If no such fell out, it was provided that three might do it, the rest consenting under their hands² (canon xix. *Con. Antioch.*). Thus, without consent of the Bishops, all proceedings of clergy and people were quite disabled and becalmed, if any faction, any sinister practice appeared in them; and all this upon the charge of the Apostle to Timothy,³ “Lay hands suddenly on no man, neither be

[¹ *Contr. Crescon. Grammatic.* tom. vii. p. 185.]

[² διὰ γραμμάτων ὁμοψήφους γενέσθαι. *Concil. Antiochen.* Labbe, tom. ii. p. 569.]

[³ 1 Tim. v. 22.]

partaker of other men's sins." And by virtue of their ordination, a Bishop was established and invested; so that a Bishop with jurisdiction before ordination was an estate not yet come into the world, so long as the primitive custom and rule of the Church was in force, which it seemeth succeeding custom hath brought to pass since. Now of all parts of the office common to Bishop and presbyters, this of ordination is that which the Bishop first began to exercise alone; so that with St. Chrysostom and St. Hierome it is taken in a manner for granted that it was to be done by him alone. The one (*Hom. xi. in 1. ad Tim.*¹): *τὴ γὰρ χειροτονίᾳ μόνῃ ὑπερβεβήκαστι, καὶ τούτῳ μόνον δοκοῦσι πλεονεκτεῖν τὸν πρεσβυτέρους,*—“only in ordination the Bishops go beyond the presbyters; that is it alone which they seem to have more than these.” The other (*Ep. ad Evangel.*²): “*Quid enim*

[¹ tom. iv. p. 289. ed. Savil.]

[² tom. iv. p. 803. ed. Bened.]

facit, excepta ordinatione, Episcopus, quod presbyter non faciat?" excepting ordination, which a Bishop doth, a presbyter, as he granteth, doth not. In which, nevertheless—setting aside the stroke the presbyters had in making their Bishops—if we take not our marks amiss, we shall find argument enough, at least at the beginning, for the concurrence of presbyters with him in making of presbyters and other inferior orders. In the first place, those general passages of the Fathers wherein is witnessed that the presbytery was a bench assistant to the Bishop, without advice whereof nothing of moment was done, must needs be drawn into consequence to argue that it had effect in a particular of this weight. Then the ordination of Timothy, by imposition of hands of the presbytery, will prove no less within compass of the Scripture. Indeed it is well known that the word *πρεσβυτέριον* in ecclesiastical writers signifieth divers times the office and rank of

presbyters, which signification divers here embrace, expounding imposition of hands of the presbytery to mean that by which the rank of presbyter was conferred. But the Apostle's words, running as they do, *μετὰ ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου*,¹ oblige a man to ask, when he is come as far as "the imposition of the hands," of whom or whose hands they were he speaketh of? which the next words satisfy. Had it been *μετὰ χειροθεσίας τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου*, the sense might better have been diverted; but running as it doth with the article, *μετὰ ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου*, "with imposition of *the* hands," it remaineth that it be specified in the next words whose hands were imposed, as in the other place (2 Tim. i. 6), *μετὰ ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν μου*, "with imposition of my hands." Thus this word *πρεσβυτέριον*, in the Gospel (Luke xxii. 66), and in Ignatius' Epistles, signifieth the college of presbyters;

[¹ 1 Tim. iv. 14.]

which hath the nature and respect of a person in law, and therefore is read in the singular for the whole bench; and being assembled and set is called *συνέδριον* in both places, and in Cornelius of Rome's epistle¹ to St. Cyprian, where he saith, “*placuit contrahi presbyterium.*” But to put the signification of the word out of doubt by the circumstance of the sense, call to mind the prophecies that went before concerning Timothy, and compare his case with the Apostle's, and the prophecies that went before of him in like case, and the imposition of hands which thereupon both received; and sure it will prove an unreprovable ground, to conclude that what is expressed in the Apostle is to be understood of the disciple, that these prophecies, coming from the ministers of the Church concerning the purpose to which God hath ordained them in His service, occasioned that which they did

[¹ Ep. xlvi. ap. St. Cyprian. Epist.]

about both in giving them imposition of hands ; and that as St. Paul received imposition of hands from the presbyters of Antiochia, so did Timothy from St. Paul and the presbyters of that Church, which he speaks of, but names not. Neither are the arguments of this interest quite worn out of the practice of the Church, either in the point of nominating the persons, or that of imposing hands. For when St. Cyprian expresseth himself so oft in this particular, that it was not his purpose to do any thing without advice of his presbyters and consent of his people, it is not his meaning that the clergy should bear no other part in this work than did the multitude; but as they were distinct bodies, so, according to his own words, to expect advice from them as concerning the persons to be promoted, but consent from the people, if there were no fault to be found of moment with the persons designed. And in these terms the matter stands in the twenty-second canon of that which is

called the fourth Council of Carthage,¹ where is provided, “*ut Episcopus sine consilio clericorum suorum clericos non ordinet, ita ut civium assensum, et testimonium, et conniventiam quærat.*” And as for imposition of hands, we have, in the epistle aforesaid of Firmilianus, Bishop of Cæsarea Cappadocia²—if not rather of the whole act of ordination—“*Omnis potestas et gratia in Ecclesia constituta est, in qua præsident majores natu, qui et baptizandi, et manum impo-nendi, et ordinandi habent potestatem.*” And in Ignatius’ epistle to Hero³—whoever wrote it, it is ancient enough to speak to our purpose—speaking to his deacon of his presbyters, ’Εκεῖνοι βαπτίζουσιν, ἱερουργοῦσι, χειροτονοῦσι, χειροθετοῦσι σὺ δὲ αὐτοῖς διακονεῖς, ὡς Στέφανος ὁ ἄγιος ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἰακώβῳ

[¹ Concil. Carthag. Labbe, tom. ii. p. 1201. who has it thus:—civium conniventiam et testimonium quærat.]

[² Ep. lxxv.] [³ cap. iii. p. 114. ed. Cotel.]

καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις,—“ they baptise, they celebrate the Eucharist, they impose hands in penance, they ordain ; thou ministerest unto them, as holy Stephen at Jerusalem to James and the presbyters.” And where it is provided (*Conc. Carthag.* iv. c. 3¹) that the presbyters, when the Bishop giveth imposition of hands, shall likewise impose their hands by his, it behoveth us in their case also to call to mind that this is, and was, and ought to be, in sign of their consent to what is done ; the Apostle having said to Timothy, “ Lay hands suddenly on no man, neither be partaker of other men’s sins.” But the interest of the people is enhanced beyond all measure or rule of primitive practice. It will not serve the turn, that the people

[¹ *Presbyter cum ordinatur, Episcopo eum benedicente, et manum super caput ejus tenente, etiam omnes presbyteri qui præsentes sunt manus suas juxta manum Episcopi super caput illius tenent. Concil. Carthag. Labbe, tom. ii. p. 1199. This is observed in the Anglican ordinal.]*

had then satisfaction of the persons, and their competence to the ministries to which they were ordained, unless we will believe that when it is said (Acts xiv. 23), *χειροτονήσαντες δὲ αὐτοῖς πρεσβυτέρους κατ' Ἑκκλησίαν*, the meaning is, that they were made by most voices of the people, signified by holding up their hands—as we find in Demosthenes and others that custom to have been in Greekish communalties—Saul and Barnabas doing nothing but moderating the choice, that is, in effect, telling the voices. And to this purpose is alleged that of the Apostle (2 Cor. viii. 19), “And not that only, but who was also chosen of the Churches to travel with us, with this grace that is administered by us :” where in the Greek is *χειροτονηθείσ*, signifying election, as they would have it, and not ordination, seeing the office of carrying alms requireth no imposition of hands. To which let me add, if they refuse not that help, the words of Ignatius, much in the same

kind; for in his epistles *ad Smyrn.*¹ et *ad Polyc.*,² out of his care and affection to his Church at Antiochia, having received news of their good estate, and finding himself in the like, he desires the Church of Smyrna and Polycarpus to choose one to go with their letters to Antiochia, whom he will have called Θεοπρεσβυτήν—so it should be read, not Θεοπρεσβύτην—or Θεοδρόμον, a messenger in matters belonging to God, to certify them of his good estate, and to congratulate with them of their own. This office, it seemeth, requireth no imposition of hands; and therefore that χειροτονία, by which Ignatius desireth them to appoint it, signifieth, as it should seem, not ordination, but election, by the same reason as that of the Apostle. The rest that is brought to avouch this new conceit is the words of Zonaras,³ upon the first of

[¹ cap. xvi. p. 92. ed. Coteler.]

[² cap. viii. p. 43.] [³ Comment. in Canon. SS. Apostol. et Concil. p. 2. Paris. 1618].

the Canons of the Apostles, where, in downright terms, he delivereth the use of this word *χειροτονία* to come from the fashion of giving voices by holding up hands, used in the Church at first, to discern on which side most voices were, from whence it came afterwards to be used for imposition of hands. But let them be-think themselves, that if these presbyters were made by Saul and Barnabas by holding up hands of the people, then were they not made by imposition of their own hands; for if we take that sense of the word *χειροτονεῖν*, the other must needs be excluded. And then let me ask, if it be a thing reasonable to measure the sense of the Apostle's language by what was done at Athens, rather than by that which, among the Jews, from whence the faith of Christ was transplanted, was known, and in use? or to imagine that the Apostle,—to follow the fashion of Greekish communalities, never heard of in after-ages of the Church,—should balk the ceremony

which the people of God had received from Moses,¹ which was from old time frequented in creating their Sanhedrin-judges, which the Apostles in their own persons practised, which the Church hath always observed in promoting of ministers, signifying the overshadowing of the Holy Ghost, and praying to obtain it. To the words of the Apostle and Ignatius; seeing they have in them no appearance of resolute sense, let me answer two ways. First, though they were not or-

[¹ Hunc ordinem sacerdotii figurarunt sacerdotes et Levitæ, et Ithamar et Eleazar et Phinees sacerdos, et Zacharias. Habitavit Excelsus super montem Sinai, et descendit manus Ejus in Mosem, et Moses posuit eam super Aaron, et deducta est usque ad Joannem, Joannes dedit eam Domino nostro, Dominus noster dedit eam Apostolis, et illi per creaturas omnibus ordinibus sacerdotii. Hunc sacerdotii gradum constituerunt nobis sancti Apostoli, et hodie in medio Ecclesiæ per manus Patris nostri perficitur. Syrorum Maronitarum Ritus Ordinationis Presbyteri: ap. Joan. Morin. Comment. de Sacris Ecclesiæ Ordinationibus, p. 337. Antverpiæ, 1695.]

dained by imposition of hands, yet it is no inconvenience they should be called *χειροτονηθέντες*, using the word in a general sense, for those that are ordained or constituted in any form, because this form was so frequented on divers occasions : as, for the purpose, among the Jews all their rabbis are called *רָבִים*, which in the letter signifieth *χειροτονηθέντες*, or “ordained by imposition of hands,” because at the first so they were made, though they be not promoted after that form, but made, as since they are ordinarily made, by writing or word of mouth ; as Rabbi Moses, in *Sanhedrin*, chap. iv. writeth. But, in the second place, observe the words which Ignatius, writing to Polycarpus about this matter, useth : *Πρέπει . . . συμβούλιον ἀγαγεῖν θεοπρεπέστατον, καὶ χειροτονῆσαι, εἰ τινα ἀγαπητὸν λίαν ἔχετε καὶ ἄοκνον, δις δυνήσεται θεοδρόμος καλεῖσθαι.*¹ Where, for the con-

[¹ Ep. Interp. cap. vii. p. 97. ed. Coteler.]

stituting of a person fit for this purpose, he adviseth him to convent one of these assemblies wherein they used to advise about ordinations, as hath been said. And therefore it seemeth no inconvenience to think that he desireth him to be ordained to that purpose. Whereupon it will not be amiss to inquire a little further, to what ministry in the Church such a person may be thought to be ordained; wherein if we fail not, perhaps it will make us able to give a fair conjecture at that of the Apostle by the correspondence of the cases. Ignatius, in the epistle to the Philadelphians,¹ writeth to them for the same purpose, as here he doth to those of Smyrna, though the sense is hitherto disguised in the printed copies, in which the words run thus: '*Ἐπειδὰν ἀπηγγέλῃ μοι εἰρηνεύειν τὴν Ἑκκλησίαν τὴν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Συρίας, πρέπον ἔστιν ὑμῖν, ως Ἑκκλησίᾳ Θεοῦ, χειροτονήσαι Ἐπίσκοπον, εἰς τὸ*

[¹ cap. x. p. 85. ed. Coteler.]

πρεσβεύσαι ἐκεῖ Θεοῦ πρεσβείαν, εἰς τὸ συγχωρηθῆναι αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γενομένοις, καὶ δοξάσαι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ: which words, it is plain, make no sense. But I have seen the written copy of an old translation of these epistles in barbarous Latin, in Caius College library here with us, in which these words are rendered thus: “*Quod annunciatum est mihi, pacem habere Ecclesiam, quæ est in Antiochia Syriæ; decens est vos, ut Ecclesiam Dei, ordinare diaconum ad intercedendum illic Dei intercessionem, in congaudere ipsis in idipsum factis, et glorificare nomen.*” He that made this translation read here *χειροτονήσαι διάκονον* instead of *Ἐπίσκοπον*, and *συγχαίρειν* or *συγχαρῆναι αὐτοῖς*, which now is read *συγχωρηθῆναι*, and maketh it no sense; and this is without question the true reading, for it followeth, *μακάριος . . . δις κατηξιώθη ταύτης¹ τῆς διακονίας.* And

[¹ *τῆς τουαύτης.* ed. Coteler.]

where he saith afterwards, ὡς καὶ ἀεὶ αἱ ἔγγιστα Ἐκκλησίαι ἐπεμψαν Ἐπισκόπους, αἱ δὲ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους, it is agreeable to the charitableness of those times to think that neighbour Churches sent some their Bishops, some their presbyters or deacons, to comfort, to advise, to congratulate with his Church of Antiochia in their Bishop's absence; and reasonable it is that he should desire those of Smyrna and Philadelphia should ordain a deacon for that purpose: but that they should make a Bishop for it, as now we read it, is without the compass of common sense to imagine. Be it then resolved, that it is no other than a deacon which Ignatius desires these of Smyrna, as well as those of Philadelphia, to ordain, to carry this message. And let me have leave to conjecture, that those whom the Apostle, in the place alleged (2 Cor. viii. 23), calleth ἀπόστολοι Ἐκκλησιῶν, "messengers of the Churches," were by their rank in the Church no other than

deacons ; which is, by like reason, to be said of Epaphroditus, whom St. Paul (Phil. ii. 25) calleth “ the apostle of the Philip-pians, and minister of his necessities ; ” and perhaps of Andronicus and Junias, reading it for the name of a man, and not of a woman (Rom. xvi. 7), where they are called ἐπίσημοι ἐν τοῖς Ἀποστόλοις, — “ noted among the Apostles.” For the name Apostle is relative to him by whom he is sent. The Apostles of Christ are Christ’s messengers ; the apostles of Churches are the messengers which they send on common business. Now ye shall often find, in the practice of the ancient Church, that deacons were sent to foreign Churches about the business of their own. And this practice beareth correspondence with the synagogue : for those that are called among them חזני חכמת, of whom Epiphanius¹ speaketh in these terms, de-scribing their office, καὶ Ἀξαντῶν τῶν παρ’

[¹ Hæres. 30. advers. Ebion. c. xi.]

*αὐτοῖς διακόνων ἐρμηνευομένων, ἢ ὑπηρετῶν,—“that they are by interpretation deacons or ministers”—are by another name called *שליחי חציבור*, which is verbatim *ἀπόστολοι τῆς συναγωγῆς* or *ἐκκλησίας*, “messengers of the synagogue,” because it is like they were wont to be employed about business of the synagogue. And therefore, if the person of whom St. Paul speaketh be no other than St. Luke the Evangelist, as many think, and the subscription of that epistle beareth, when he sets him forth thus (2 Cor. viii. 18, 19) : “ Now we have sent with him our brother, whose praise is in the Gospel”—or in preaching the Gospel—“ through all the Churches ; and not that alone, but was ordained by the Churches to travel with us, with this grace which is ministered by us,” I shall not stick to think of him, as of Philip the deacon and evangelist, that for his rank he was ordained a deacon by consent of many Churches ; in some of them to dispense the alms they*

sent with St. Paul to Jerusalem, though for his personal grace he was an evangelist. Nay, if the question be asked, to what rank Timothy was ordained by that imposition of hands of the presbytery mentioned by the Apostle? my answer must be, seeing presbyters are for the oversight of their Churches, and Bishop he was none till he undertook his charge at Ephesus, that he was ordained deacon by that Church, to give attendance on St. Paul in his travels, for which purpose his personal grace of evangelist was very opportune; for thus much Ignatius hath said, writing to the deacons at Trallis, "That the deacons were such as ministered a pure and blameless ministry; as holy Stephen to blessed James, and Timothy and Linus to Paul, and Anacletus and Clemens to Peter."¹ Now, as for Zonaras, that had a mind to shew his reading in Demosthenes, or the like Greek authors, and improve it by expounding the canons

[¹ see p. 14.]

according to it, it is but sending him to Balsamon for his answer, who, writing upon the same canon, hath met this impertinence of his with an unavoidable reason to convince his mistake; which is, that *χειροτονία*, in the canons, cannot mean election by most voices, because the choice of a Bishop is done by all the Bishops of the province, according to the canons of Nice and Antiochia, alleged afore;¹ whereas the ordination, which is *χειροτονία*, is performed by two or three, by the tenor of that canon of the Apostles. And therefore Justellus,² by the way, did not right to allege Balsamon for one that seconds Zonaras in this conceit, wherein it is plain he hath laid him upon his back. To which let me add this: the fifth canon of Laodicea³ provideth *μὴ δεῖν τὰς χειροτονίας ἐπὶ παρουσίᾳ ἀκροωμένων γίνεσθαι*,

[¹ see p. 156.]

[² *Bibliotheca Juris Canonici veteris*, tom. i. p. 92. ed. Paris. 1661.]

[³ *Conc. Laodic.* Labbe, tom. i. p. 1497.]

that is, “elections,” saith Zonaras.¹ For this canon he allegeth for his purpose, because at elections scandals were ripped up, and men’s faults examined. And so say all those that allow the people interest of approving or excepting against those that stood to be ordained; but he that looketh as far as the thirteenth canon of that council will never allow the people right of electing by most voices according to that council, which provideth, *περὶ τοῦ μὴ τοῖς δχλοῖς ἐπιτρέπειν, τὰς ἐκλογὰς ποιεῖσθαι τῶν μελλόντων καθίστασθαι εἰς ἱερατεῖον*,—“that the choice of such as are to be placed in the rank of presbyters must not be yielded to the people.” Now it is well enough known, that many times at these assemblies for making of ministers, the votes of the people, desiring such or such persons for Bishops, or presbyters, or others, prevented the order in practice, nominating such beforehand as they desired to have

[¹ p. 341.]

made; as it is to be seen in the eminent examples of Augustine among presbyters, and St. Ambrose among Bishops. Neither was it an inconvenience, that those which ordained should balk the accustomed course to give satisfaction to the people's desire, when there was appearance that it was bred upon a due opinion of merit in the person recommended. And the case is in a manner the same, when the best Christian emperors did often-times of themselves nominate to the bishoprics of the chief seats of the empire, where the state was most interested in the condition of the person to be ordained. For in this they proceeded as those in whom rested all the right of the people in that commonwealth: the Bishops proceeding to do their office, upon due knowledge and approbation of the person, without examining the course of proceeding, as not so near concerning their charge. And thus it is plain, that the Apostles did not leave the choice of Matthias or the

seven deacons at large to the people ; but qualifying the persons by their directions in whom those qualities were found — resting indifferent themselves—they referred to the knowledge of the people. For so we read of Matthias (Acts i. 21) : “ Of these men that have companied with us ever since the Lord Jesus went in and out among us must one be chosen, to be a witness of His resurrection with us.” And of the seven deacons (Acts vi. 3) : “ Wherefore, brethren, look you out among you seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, whom we may appoint over this business.” But had the persons been found not qualified, no man will be so gross as to think the Apostles might not, or ought not, to control the choice. And though it were granted, which with truth cannot be granted, that the presbyters aforesaid were made by Saul and Barnabas upon most voices of the people, yet if we reserve to them the nomination of the per-

sons, the interest of the people will be less — rather than more — than the people of this Church useth at the present, though not in themselves, yet in the patrons of churches, to whom the Church yieldeth it, in the name of the people, in respect to the merit of those that built or endowed churches; at least if the ancient canon were in use. For though it be a little without the terms of my subject, yet let me say this word for the provision of pastors in rural congregations, that by the order thus far specified, it must needs come from the mother-Church, out of the gremials of it. In the first ages of the Church, there is little or no mention but of presbyteries in gross, for the common service of mother-Churches, whereof hitherto we speak. Afterwards, when the faith was planted, and congregations ordered, in the territories of those cities, or dioceses of those Churches, we find in the thirteenth canon of Neocæsarea¹ a dif-

[¹ Concil. Neocæsar. Labbe, tom. i. p. 1479.]

ference made between the presbyters of them, whereof some are called there ἐπι-
χώριοι, others οἱ κατὰ πόλιν¹—these of the mother-Church, those of rural congregations. And by the canon of Chalcedon, mentioned afore,²—forbidding all ordinations at large but for the service of the city-Church, or other depending on it,—it appeareth, that by virtue of the ordination in the mother-Church,—wherein the people concurred no otherwise than hath been said,—whether presbyters or other, ministers were invested in their charge of those Churches. Before that time it is to be observed, that the Council of Nice,³ canon xv., forbidding ministers to pass from city to city—whether Bishops, presbyters, or deacons—that is, to leave their own mother-Church to serve in another mother-Church, proceedeth in these terms:

[¹ These *words* are not in that canon, but the distinction is recognised.]

[² p. 152.]

[³ Concil. Nicæn. Labbe, tom. ii. p. 36.]

*"Εδοξε παντάπασι περιαιρεθῆναι τὴν συνήθειαν τὴν παρὰ τὸν κανόνα εὑρεθεῖσαν ἐν τισὶ μέρεσιν,—“ it seemed good to put down the fashion that is come up in some parts besides the rule ;” signifying that the rule of the Church from the beginning was, to ordain ministers in mother-Churches, for the service of those mother-Churches. But in the sixteenth canon, next following, it is further provided that they shall be constrained to return to their first charges, in these terms :—*Ἄλλὰ πᾶσαν αὐτοῖς ἀνάγκην ἐπάγεσθαι χρή, ἀναστρέφειν εἰς τὰς ἑαυτῶν παροικίας,—* “ they must be constrained by all means to return into their own dioceses.” For *παροικία*, in the canons, signifieth the country lying to the city of the mother-Church, which we call the diocese. This canon, speaking of presbyters and deacons, and not of Bishops, besides the voiding of such attempts, which is done in the fifteenth canon afore, providing a course to constrain them to return, extendeth*

further than the other did—to presbyters and deacons in country cures, whereas that rested in the mother-Church. So the third canon of Antiochia;¹ so the fourteenth of the Apostles,² providing that ministers should not leave τὰς ἑαυτῶν παροικίας, “their dioceses,” as was said, speak plain to let us know how much the cures of the whole diocese, and the persons by whom they were exercised, were in the disposing of the mother-Church, when it appeareth that the ministers of them could not depart, to serve in or under other Churches, till they were dismissed their first charge, with letters of license from the mother-Church, which they called ἀπολυτικὰς, or *dimissorias*. Wherein the condition of the Church is just that of the Greekish colonies : they were wont to have their priests sent them from the mother-cities, and reserved the first-fruits, which were the priests' due,

[¹ Concil. Antioch. Labbe, tom. ii. p. 562.]

[² Can. Apost. Labbe, tom. i. p. 28.]

for an honour to their founders ; as Thucydides (lib. i.¹) and his scholiast writeth, alleging this for an occasion of that war, because those of Corcyra neglected their mother-city of Corinth in that accustomed right. So all rural congregations, being at first nothing but colonies of the faith, planted from mother-Churches, founded in mother-cities, from the time of the Apostles, it was but reason they should receive their pastors from the head of the diocese, where the charge of overseeing as well as planting them belonged. The right of presenting, then, yielded by the Church—to the people or to the patron, it concerns not in her regard—if it were to orders as well as to cures, were more than the people should have, in choosing out of those which Saul and Barnabas might nominate. But he that would have the people both name the persons, and choose out of those themselves named, neglecting imposition of hands, or en-

[¹ c. 25.]

joining it upon the choice, must first put the epistles to Timothy and Titus out of the Bible, lest, at the first insight, that appear to belong to the office of men of their place, the account whereof lieth upon their charge. As for the constituting of Bishops, fit it is, in the first place, provision be made for the interest of the state, as well in ordering the choices, as in approving the persons chosen, that no man be established prejudicial to the commonwealth. But yet that course, in which the Christian emperors of ancient times interposed themselves to nominate the persons, being acknowledged to be besides the rule, did not destroy it in all, but balk it for the time. Now, if the people from the beginning had a due share of interest in giving consent to those which were to be ordained their presbyters, much more must we needs think that it was due and of right, that the votes of the presbyters and consent of the people should go before, in designing the persons under

whom and with whom they were to guide and be guided in spiritual matters. As for imposition of hands of neighbour-Bishops, with whom the unity of the Church was to be preserved by the ordained, it was not then the formality of a thing done, but the substance of the act, resting upon the account of them that did it by virtue of the Apostles' charge. And therefore, though it is not easy for me to judge how far it concerneth the Church to retain the primitive form, yet it is easy for indifferent persons to discern how much is required to the retaining of it.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE RULE OF CENSURING PERSONS ORDAINED
DIRECTED TO TIMOTHY ALONE. THE OF-
FICE EXERCISED ACCORDING TO THE OTHER
PARTS OF IT.

SOMETHING would here be said, in the last place, of that which dependeth upon these two last particulars, of penance and ordination ; that is, the censure of offences, whether in doctrine or manners of persons ordained ; because the Apostle seemeth to refer this to Timothy, that is, to the Bishop alone, not mentioning any concurrence of his presbyters in it. For so we read 1 Tim. v. 19, 20, “ Against an elder receive not an accusation, but under two or three witnesses. Them that sin rebuke before all, that others also may have fear.” But having hitherto shewed, that our Lord in the Gospel hath ap-

pointed matters of particular offence to come before the consistory of Bishop and presbyters ; that the Apostles themselves, in divers matters belonging to the government of the Church, used their assistance ; that in the primitive times of the Church, even under the Apostles, matters of censure and ordination both were wont to pass by the presbyters, but in the assemblies of Christian people ;—let me refer this to all indifferent persons to judge, whether the same course of proceeding were in likelihood observed in the censure of presbyters. The Apostle's direction, regulating what information to admit, is directed to Timothy alone ; for the meaning is not, that two or three should be present when it is put in, but that it should not be admitted but—as the Syriac translateth it—“upon the mouth,” that is, the word, of two or three witnesses. But the censure of reproof is prescribed to pass in the congregation, when he saith, “them that sin,” that is,

them that are found in fault, “rebuke before all, that others may have fear;” no otherwise than the censure of the Apostle did and was prescribed to do (1 Cor. v. 4, 2 Cor. ii. 6); and therefore we are to think, that the examination of such causes must pass, as others of like nature, by him, with the presbyters, to whom the Apostle had assigned a charge of governing the Church there (Acts xx. 28, 35). So the keys of the Church, given to St. Peter and to the Apostles, were nevertheless intended to be exercised by the Church, as hath been said.¹ So the charge of excommunicating heretics is directed to Titus alone (Tit. iii. 10): but we have no reason therefore to imagine, that Titus is directed to proceed otherwise in it than we know the Church was wont to proceed in censures of that nature, according to that which hath been said. And so it is in the case that followeth a little after

[¹ see p. 138.]

(ver. 22¹) : “ Lay hands suddenly on no man, neither be partaker of other men’s sins:” where the rule of ordinations is directed to Timothy alone; yet have we no cause to believe that it was practised by him otherwise than according to the form aforesaid, joining with him the presbyters in imposition of hands, as was practised by the Apostle. The eminence of their place is to be acknowledged, because the Apostle’s instructions for managing these matters are directed to them alone. But their course of proceeding must be measured by that which we know otherwise.

[¹ 1 Tim. v.]

CHAPTER XIV.

RETAINING THE PRIMITIVE FORM, BISHOPS
CANNOT BE ABOLISHED. HOW AERIUS IS
COUNTED AN HERETIC. ALL DISPLEASURE
AGAINST BISHOPS OCCASIONED BY DEFECT
OF PRESBYTERIES. TO WHAT PURPOSE
THEY MIGHT BE RESTORED.

THAT which hath been said, being intended to represent the form delivered in Scripture by the agreement of historical truth and primitive practice, concerneth no more, as every man sees, than the government of mother-Churches contained in mother-cities; because that is all the Scripture hath expressed. But what influence and effect this ought to have in the present state of the Church, now that dioceses are divided, churches built, and congregations assigned, is not for a private person to particularise, unless he meant to build churches — as some men

do castles—in the air. Let it be enough to say thus much in general, which every man must think that believeth what hath been said to be true, that he that aimeth at the primitive form, and that which cometh nearest the institution of our Lord and His Apostles, must not think of destroying Bishops, but of restoring their presbyteries. Were it but a human ordinance of yesterday, established by due course of right, let me be bold to say, that if Aërius withdraw his submission to it, he must come within Epiphanius' list of heretics; not understanding an heretic in St. Augustine's sense—wherein Tertullian in his book *de Præscript.*¹ went afore him—to be none but he that will not believe some point of doctrine necessary, as the means of salvation, to be believed; but, according to the latitude of the word, taking all to be heretics that make sects, and assemble themselves apart besides the Church of God lawfully settled. This

[¹ c. 14.]

sense is used in can. vi. *Conc. Constanti-nop.* 1,¹ where they are counted heretics that hold the sound faith, ἀποσχίζοντας δὲ καὶ ἀντισυνάγοντας τοὺς κανονικοῖς ήμιν Ἐπισκόποις [but separate themselves, and hold assemblies in opposition to us their canonical Bishops]. And this latitude it seemeth Epiphanius² comprised, because he reckoneth the Quartadecimani in the roll of heretics. These, when the position whereupon the separation is grounded is not of weight—setting their separation aside—to separate them from the invisible Church, are since, according to the authors named afore, by a proper term called schismatics, though heretics in the proper sense separate no less than they do. And of this crime my earnest desire is, that those which have separated themselves from this Church of England upon this quarrel of government by Bi-

[¹ Labbe, tom. ii. p. 950.]

[² Hæres. 50.]

shops, or the like unjust or insufficient causes, may stand acquitted ; though how they will acquit themselves of it, I cannot yet perceive. But if the rank of Bishops over their presbyters be not only a just human ordinance, but estates in possession of sixteen hundred years, without deceit or violence at the beginning, let me have leave to think it will be hard to shew a better title of human right for any estate upon the earth. How much more, when the possession is avouched to have been delivered from the hands and time of the Apostles, must it needs seem strange that the successors of their place should be destroyed by the sons of their faith ? Be it pardonable for our neighbours and brethren of the reformed Churches abroad to have overseen the succession of the Apostles, because they could not discern it, as they found it blended with such abundance of accessories, especially in the persons of men that hated to be reformed ; but among us there hath been

time to plead the right to the quick ; and though not without eagerness of debate, which interest breedeth, yet always with advantage to the true tenure. And among the multitude of speech that this time hath bred, we have heard little or nothing, as yet, of new reasons to quell the cause with. So that, before advancing new plea, the old right descending from such hands standeth now in as good terms as ever heretofore. As for the point of peace within ourselves, and correspondence with our neighbours, be it considered how large St. Hierome—of all Church-writers least favourable to the order, as he that found himself pinched with the Bishop of Jerusalem—hath been nevertheless in acknowledging, that the peace of particular Churches could not be preserved without it. To which we must add the remembrance of so many happy days as this Church, since the Reformation, hath seen, without such ruptures as have fallen out in other parts, by the benefit of it, among a people always

observed to be of all others most daring to innovate opinions, in matters of religion especially, as well as in those that concern other knowledge. But he that calleth to remembrance that correspondence which, in ancient times, was actuated between Churches of several nations and people—*commercio formatarum*, as Optatus¹ speaketh, by traffic of those letters of correspondence which, under set forms, were wont to pass between Bishops in the name of their Churches—the true form of that unity which our Lord commended to His Church, after it was become catholic—must needs lament to see that most beautiful peace of this government in ancient time defaced and lost, by the fault of them that hate to be reformed, in the dissensions of Christendom alleged to destroy it. The honour and esteem, which the learned of the reformed Churches abroad have professed of the state of our

[¹ De Schism. Donatist. lib. ii. c. 3.]

Churches, and our charity in excusing the necessities of theirs, and acknowledging the efficacy of the ministry which they use, will be sufficient, through God's goodness, to actuate the correspondence we desire to preserve with them, without those innovations which they never required at our hands to such purpose. But he that acknowledgeth, and is glad to see these heads stand in their right place, looking back upon their beginning, which was to succeed the Apostles over several presbyteries, in the place which they held over all for the time, must needs miss their relatives, the bodies of these presbyteries, in the government of Churches. And though that alteration cannot be charged upon any man, which is come to pass through time and insensible custom ; especially seeing it cannot be counted an alteration in this Church of England, because we are to think it had prevailed in the Church before this

nation received the faith; yet must it needs be remembered, by him that believeth all the evil consequences which this government is charged with, whether in opinion or truth, to have come from the discharge of presbyteries from their part of the office. One particular no man need to be nice in reckoning to be of that nature, though it is not in the power of one man—were he as much in love as I am with the primitive form—or scarce of one age, without a public act to amend it. That is, the committing of jurisdiction at large—even that which is proper and essential to the Church, by the power of the keys, which our Lord hath given it, as hath been said—in effect, to lay persons. Which jurisdiction, though for the present it pass not upon present advice, but upon laws of the Church for the purpose, yet so long as laws are general and few, cases particular and numberless, will always deserve to be exercised

with mature and charitable advice of those to whose charge our Lord first committed it, if we mean to attain the ends of correction and example. Though the profession by which it is ministered deserve to retain the rank it holdeth, in regard of those other points of jurisdiction in charitable causes, by the favour of princes, and laws of commonwealths annexed to the Church, passing, as it doth, by the laws whereof they profess knowledge. This inconvenience, if such it be counted, seemeth to proceed from that insensible change whereof hath been said: for had the presbyteries continued, as at the beginning, upon the exercise of this discipline of penance, it is not to be thought that power could have been so lightly alienated as from one wherein a number had their interest. But this and the like consequences seem to have brought this undue opinion upon the Church-government, that, as cathedral-churches long since, so

now the state of Bishops among indifferent men, is counted a matter of indifference, which, had they continued in the primitive charge, must needs have been counted—as counted they ought to be—inviolable. And therefore though, as the case standeth, it is neither possible nor desired to call the whole presbytery of a diocese to a share in the public government, yet let me have leave to say, that the next course to retrieve the primitive form, with the wholesome grounds and consequences of it, is to re-estate these presbyteries in cathedral-churches, and perhaps, in other populous places, seats of jurisdictions, where the diocese is great, furnishing them with number of men of abilities, and joining them with and under the Bishops, for assistance in all parts of the office hitherto proved common to both. It seems the means that hath brought to pass that insensible change whereof we speak, was from the beginning no other

than this ; because the form of proceeding in particular Churches was never regulated by canons of the Church, but left to particular custom. And therefore it is past my apprehension how more right should be done than distributing the common charge into particular interest, by such rules as may best express those general terms which the purest primitive times were content with ; that as without the Bishop nothing to be done, so the Bishop to do nothing without advice of his presbyters. The performance of divine service in the cathedral common sense finds too slight a work for such persons : the cures of all Churches within such populous places, if they belonged to their titles, would be a work suitable to such prime abilities. Then the exercise of the power of the keys in the discipline of penance, trial and approvement of persons presented to cures, or assistance of cures, according to laws—excluding all

ordinations without such title—censure of offences in doctrine, or life of persons ordained, always under the Bishop, and for his assistance—are works that require mature advice, and pass best in common for satisfaction to the public, matters of religion being by nature more popular than the commonwealth. If this be not enough, such may be men's abilities, that all these presbyteries may become schools of the prophets, and seminaries of able preachers through the several jurisdictions or dioceses; a thing wished on all hands, but not to be expected without means to bring it to pass. This hath been always desired at the hands of cathedral-churches, and some steps of it remain still in some of ours; and though the staple of this education, being long since drained from other places to the two Universities, the charge hath been sustained by them alone with unspeakable benefit to the Church, as well as to

the commonwealth, yet the assistance of these places with them, for the service of the Church, is not to be counted their prejudice, leaving entire unto them the place they possess of seminaries of the commonwealth.

THE END.

LONDON :

PRINTED BY ROBSON, LEVEY, AND FRANKLYN,
46 St. Martin's Lane.

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